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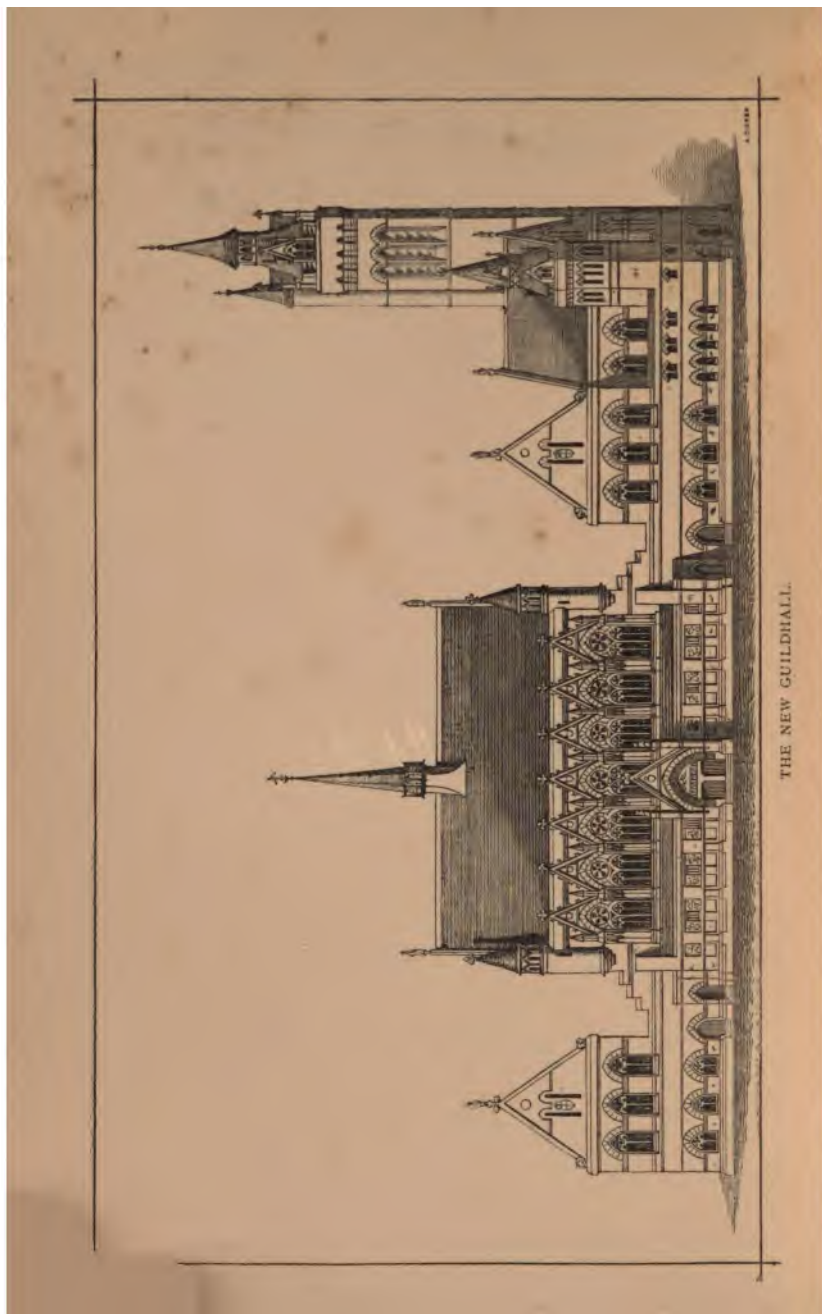
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THE NEW GUILDHALL.

J. B. B. 1864

THE  
HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH

From the Earliest Period to the Present Time.

BY

R. N. WORTH,

HONORARY MEMBER OF THE PLYMOUTH INSTITUTION;

*Author of "The History of Devonport;" "The Three Towns' Bibliotheca;"*  
*"Historical Notes concerning the Progress of Mining Skill in Cornwall*  
*and Devon;" "The Common Seals of Devon and Cornwall;"*  
*&c., &c.*

SECOND EDITION.

REVISED AND AUGMENTED.

"'Tis a notable old town."—*Long fellow.*



Plymouth:  
W. BRENDON AND SON, GEORGE STREET.

MDCCCLXXIII.

1873



## PREFACE.

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**T**HIS volume contains the first published history of the good old town of Plymouth.

Emboldened by the kind reception accorded to my "History of Devonport," I undertook and have now completed a record of the parent community. The task was one that ought never to have been left to the present generation. Being left, I am glad that circumstances threw it into my hands.

My constant object has been to produce a work attractive in form, readable in style, and moderate in price; which yet should omit no incident of importance, and which should, by judicious selection, systematic arrangement, and scrupulous accuracy, commend itself to the antiquary and historian, as well as to the general reader. How far I have succeeded is not for me to say.

I do not pretend that this History is free from imperfections. I know it is not; but I can honestly claim that no pains have been spared, no skill that may be mine has been wanting, to make it worthy of its subject. And if the critical reader should find—



as find he will—here and there dates and statements which do not exactly tally with generally received opinions, I trust he will do me the justice of believing that these points have been well considered, and that I have adopted such views as, upon a balance of evidence, have best approved themselves to my mind. None but those who have engaged in similar work know the difficulties of conflicting authorities. I am content to be deemed mistaken ; I do not wish to be thought either ignorant or careless.

The materials for this volume have been drawn from a wide variety of sources. I am largely indebted to the manuscript treasures of the British Museum ; to official records ; to the valuable contents of the Devon and Exeter and Plymouth and Cottonian Libraries ; to the Historical Collections of the indefatigable Mr. Henry Woollcombe, in the Library of the Plymouth Institution ; and I gladly acknowledge the unvarying courtesy with which all these sources of information have been placed at my disposal. I have also derived very valuable assistance from personal information, for which I likewise tender my warmest thanks. The published authorities cited are referred to in their proper places.

With this introduction the Author begs to stand aside, and to let his History speak for itself.

*Plymouth, June, 1871.*

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

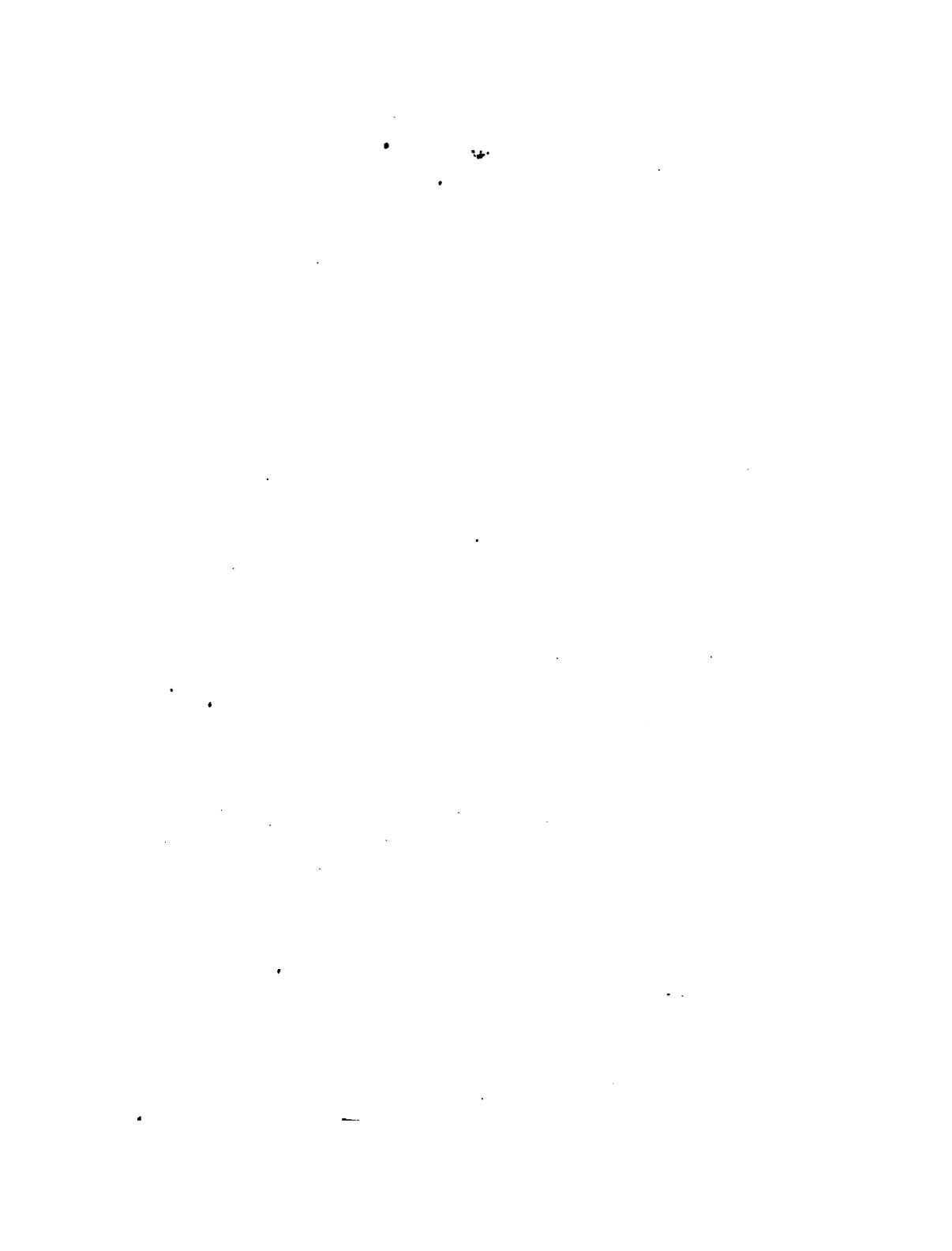
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LITTLE over two years since the first published History of Plymouth appeared as a candidate for public favour. The edition is now exhausted. This is the most gratifying proof an author can have that his labours are appreciated ; and I return my sincere thanks.

Advantage has been taken of the issue of the second edition to correct certain errors—happily, neither many nor great—that had escaped discovery before publication, but have since been detected ; to chronicle the chief events that have since marked the history of the town ; and to add a quantity of new and interesting matter gleaned from various sources.

I have thought it desirable to carry out this chiefly by means of an Appendix, which may be procured separately by purchasers of the first edition. The fresh materials do not seem to require that the work should be recast.



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# HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH.

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## CHAPTER I.

### *EARLY HISTORY.*

"The ghost of ages dim."—*Howitt.*

**L**IKE the history of most nations, but unlike that of most towns, the history of Plymouth begins far back in the region of myth and legend. There is no certain record of its existence at a time much anterior to the Norman Conquest; but legend, in connection with its most prominent physical feature, the Hoe, would carry us back to a period of extremely remote antiquity.

To Geoffry of Monmouth, the least reliable of all the old chroniclers, we are indebted for the story of the settlement of Britain by Brute or Brutus, the Trojan, somewhere about the year 1200 B.C. Brutus and his companions are said by Geoffry to have landed at Totnes, then included in the kingdom of Cornwall; and to have found the country so pleasant that, despite its giant inhabitants, they determined to make it their abode. One day when Brutus and his friends were holding a festival to the gods, they were attacked by the giants in force. After a terrible



struggle the Trojans got the upper hand, and killed all their assailants except the leader, Goemagot, who was preserved for a combat with Corinæus, one of the chiefs of the Trojan party. Goemagot was "twelve cubits high, and of such strength that with one stroke he pulled up an oak as it had been a hazel wand." Nevertheless Corinæus, "holding it a diversion to encounter giants," met him manfully. Goemagot at length broke three of his opponent's ribs, which so enraged Corinæus, that taking the giant upon his shoulders, he ran with him to the shore, and "getting upon the top of a high rock, hurled down the savage monster into the sea, where falling on the sides of craggy rocks he was torn to pieces, and coloured the waves with his blood."\* This high rock, we are told, was the Hoe, which thence is stated to have taken the name of Lam-Goemagot or Goemagot's Leap. There is, however, a tradition that the struggle took place at Dover.

Michael Drayton thus quaintly versifies the legend in his *Polyolbion*:

"Then, forraging this Ile, long promis'd them before,  
 Amongst the ragged Cleeves those monstrous Giants sought:  
 Who (of their dreadful kind) t' appall the Trojans, brought  
 Great *Gogmagog*, an Oake that by the roots could teare:  
 So mightie were (that time) the men who liued there:  
 But, for the vse of Armes he did not vnderstand,  
 (Except some rock or tree, that comming next to hand  
 Hee raz'd out of the earth to execute his rage)  
 Hee challenge makes for strength, and offereth there his gage,  
 Which *Corin* taketh vp, to answer by and by,  
 Vpon this sonne of Earth his vtmost power to try.

\* "Geoffry of Monmouth." Bohn's edition.

All doubtful to which part the victorie would goe,  
 Vpon that loftie place at *Plinmouth*, call'd the *Hoe*,  
 Those mightie Wrastlers met; with many an irefull looke  
 Who threatned, as the one hold of the other tooke:  
 But, grapled, glowing fire shines in their sparkling eyes.  
 And, whilst at length of arme one from the other lyes,  
 Their lusty sinewes swell like cables, as they striue:  
 Their feet such trampling make, as though they forc't to driue  
 A thunder out of earth; which stagger'd with the weight:  
 Thus, eithers vtmost force vrg'd to the greatest height.  
 Whilst one vpon his hip the other seekes to lift,  
 And th' adverse (by a turne) doth from his cunning shift,  
 Their short-fetcht troubled breath a hollow noise doth make,  
 Like bellowes of a Forge. Then *Corin* vp doth take  
 The Giant twixt the grayns; and voyding of his hould  
 (Before his combrous feet he well recouer could)  
 Pitcht head-long from the hill; as when a man doth throw  
 An Axtree, that with sleight deliuerd from the toe  
 Rootes vp the yeelding earth: so that his violent fall,  
 Strooke *Neptune* with such strength, as shouldred him withall;  
 That where the monstrous waues like Mountaines late did stand,  
 They leap't out of the place, and left the bared sand  
 To gaze vpon wide heauen: so great a blowe it gaue.  
 For which, the conquering *Brute*, on *Corineus* braue  
 This horne of land bestow'd, and markt it with his name;  
 Of *Corin*, *Cornwall* call'd, to his immortall fame."\*

Few if any in the present day will be found to contend for the truth of this story. There was a time when it was a cardinal point of historical belief, and was strengthened by arguments which somewhat remind us of the citation of the bricks laid by Jack Cade's father in the chimney of Smith's house, in proof of Cade's royal descent. Carew,† who nevertheless seems

\* The two gigantic figures in the Guildhall of the city of London, popularly called Gog and Magog, really represent Corinæus and Goemagot.  
 † "Survey of Cornwall."

to have had some doubts about the whole business, backs up the claims of Plymouth to be considered the scene of this "wrestling pull" against Dover. The statements that Brutus landed at Totnes, in Cornwall, and that Cornwall was the province which was bestowed upon Corinæus, he holds to imply that "this wrestling was likely to have chanced ther sooner than elsewhere." He considers also that the great activity of Devon and Cornishmen in this faculty of wrestling seems "to derive them a speciall pedigree from that grand wrestler *Corinæus*." He adds—and here we first light upon a certainty in connection with the story—"Moreover upon the Hawe at *Plymouth*, there is cut out in the ground the pourtrayture of two men, the one bigger, the other lesser, with clubbes in their hands (whom they terme *Gog Magog*), and (as I have learned) it is renewed by order of the Townesmen when cause requireth, which should inferre the same to be a monument of some moment." The Corporation records confirm this, containing entries referring to the re-cutting and renewal of these figures from time to time, as Carew states. In 1567 eightpence was paid for that purpose. The effigies were incised in the turf after the fashion of the famous White Horse in Berkshire, whose "scouring" Tom Brown celebrates. Writing about half a century after Carew (1630), Westcote also mentions their existence. "Here [the Hoe] the townsmen pass their time of leisure in walking, bowling, and other pleasant pastimes, in the side whereof is cut the portraiture of two men of the largest volume, yet the one surpassing the other every way; these they name to be Corinæus and Gog-

magog; intimating the wrestling to be here between these two champions; and the steep rocky cliff affording aptitude for such a cast." This interesting memorial of antiquity was destroyed when the Citadel was erected, about the year 1671.\*

It is by no means easy to estimate the exact nature of the connection between the figures and the story; but whether they sprung out of the legend or the legend out of them, they are undoubtedly traceable to a remote antiquity. Inasmuch, however, as Geoffrey himself makes no allusion to them, it must be assumed either that he did not know of their existence, or that they did not then exist. The latter being the more reasonable supposition of the two, it may with some confidence be concluded that they were first cut in the latter half of the twelfth century, soon after Geoffrey's Chronicle became current, or not long subsequently; unless, as is possible, they had a different origin, and were associated with the wrestling story in later days. The name given to the giant—Goemagot—is conclusive testimony that the legend, as we have it, is not so old as the introduction of Christianity into this country; or—if the story were taken by Geoffrey from Armorican manuscripts, as is now generally believed—into Brittany. There is just a morsel of evidence which possibly connects the story with very early times. Geoffrey states that the place whence the giant was precipitated was called Lam-Goemagot—Goemagot's leap. Now Lambhay Hill is the traditional scene of the occurrence, and

\* An ancient chart in the British Museum places the "Lammy" on the extreme south-eastern point of the Hoe, at Fisher's Nose.

Lam in Celtic (old Cornish) being leap, Lamhay means the leap-field or close.\* So too the ancient name of the Hoe (Saxon, *hou*, a hill; *hoeg*, high) was Wynrigg, and Wynrigg may be derived from the Saxon *winnan*, to contend, struggle, and *hric*, a ridge. Or the last syllable may come from *wrigan*, to clothe, or *hreac*, a heap; the word in the former case referring to the manner in which the portraiture of the conflict clothed the side of the hill; or, assuming the figures to be of later date, in the latter meaning the "struggle heap," and possibly being applied more particularly to some memorial cairn.

Now neither Lamhay nor Wynrigg compel a belief in the legend, even if they are thus interpreted correctly, any more than the Devil's gaps and leaps, so common in mountainous districts, are now supposed to have anything to do with that personage. But the coincidence is curious, to say the least; and if it be safe to raise any superstructure upon such very slight foundations, we may venture upon the following hypothesis:—That the legend in the first place did refer to something that occurred in the fifth century at or near the Hoe, and with which the Armorican allies whom Ambrosius called to his aid about the year 438 were associated; that the Armoricans on their return to Brittany carried the story with them; that in Brittany, between the fifth and twelfth centuries, under the mingled influences of half-understood classical history and of religious sentiment working through

\* The Rev. W. Beal derives Lamhay from "Lamh," the hand or arm, a memorial of the reputed strength of Corinæus; but this difference of etymology would not affect the witness borne by the name to the tradition.

the monastic mind, it developed into the full-blown myth of Brutus the Trojan; and that when it returned to England, and was made known under the auspices of Geoffry of Monmouth, the Plymouthians of that day, to perpetuate the memory of what they undoubtedly believed to be sterling fact, cut the figures of the two champions on the greensward of the Hoe. This however is purely hypothetical, and is not put forward as having any peculiar claims to acceptance, but simply as an effort to arrive at whatever kernel of truth there may be in the first event recorded in connection with Plymouth.

The earliest distinct trace of human occupation in the neighbourhood of Plymouth no longer exists. There was, up to the time of the erection of the Citadel, a tolmen\* upon the Hoe, which is reported to have stood within the area now enclosed by that fortification. We know nothing more of this monument of an extinct cultus than the bare fact of its existence.



There is however other evidence that a British settlement had been planted somewhere upon the shores of the estuary of the Plym—the Laira. In March, 1832, a quarryman at Mount Batten found five gold and eight silver coins, which were

pronounced by the late Colonel Hamilton Smith to

\* Holed stone—*tol*, a hole; *maen*, a stone.

be undoubtedly Celtic of the earliest coinage. Since that date other similar coins have been discovered, two of which, one of gold, and the other of copper, are engraved.

The Romans frequented both the Tamar and the Plym. They had a station at Tamara, which has been identified with Tamerton;\* and many years since portions of a vessel, supposed to have been a Roman galley, were found under marsh land at Plympton,† near the spot where passed—still passes—the ancient Roman Ridge Road, which gives its name to the village of Ridgeway. In this road we have a link which unites nearly twenty centuries; perchance more, if, as is probable, it follows the course of one of the old British trackways.

“The Ridge Road ran from Totnes to the Tamar, and so onward into Cornwall. It was for many centuries the main line of road eastward from Plymouth, and in how many stirring events and ‘passages’ must it not have borne its part. Roman spears and helmets have glittered there in the sun. Fierce Saxons and fiercer Danes; the destrier of the Norman knight and the Benedictine abbot’s ambling mule alike have passed along it. There rode the captive King of France with the Black Prince at his side, when after Poitiers he landed at Plymouth, and proceeded thence to London, feasted by all the great towns in his way. There the Princess Catharine of Arragon looked for the first time on English fields and orchards as she

\* The Tamar is the Tamarus of Richard of Cirencester; and its estuary the Tamara Ostia of Ptolemy.

† Bellamy’s “Natural History of South Devon.”

passed onward to meet her chequered destiny. There King Charles has ridden both triumphant and despairing, and there fled 'the most worne and weak, pitiful creature in the world,' the poor Queen Henrietta, after the troops of Essex had all but prevented her escape from Exeter. The spurs of Fairfax and his bands, the plumes of Hopton and his cavaliers, alike have jingled and fluttered there. What hopes and what fears—what changes and chances has not that forgotten road-line witnessed. The cloud shadows that sweep along it, or the lights stealing through the boughs that overhang it, are scarcely more varied or more countless."\*

The most extensive and complete series of relics of the Roman-British period in the vicinity of Plymouth were discovered whilst Fort Stamford above Oreston was being constructed in 1864. A Romano-British cemetery was then opened, containing some hundreds of graves, in which large quantities of interesting objects were found. The most important of these are deposited in the Museum at the Plymouth Athenæum.†

The earliest direct reference to any town upon the shores of Plymouth Sound is considered to occur in the life of St. Indractus, where mention is made of a place called Tamarweorth. There are some doubts whether Tamarweorth can be considered the precursor of Plymouth. Weorth in Saxon properly signifies a

\* King's "Dartmoor and its Borders."

† They were presented by Mr. C. Spence Bate, F.R.S., F.L.S., who lectured upon them before the members of the Plymouth Institution, and before the Devonshire Association; they include vessels of earthenware and glass, articles of personal adornment, such as brooches, rings and bracelets, and, what are very rarely found, fragments of two bronze mirrors.



river island. Hence it has been suggested that Drake's Island was intended. Assuming however that Tamarweorth was the name of an island, it by no means follows that Drake's was so called. Within living memory the waters of Millbay extended far beyond their present limits to the north, and marshes occupied the site of Union Road. Three centuries since these marshes were part of the inlet, and known by the name of Surpool or Sourpool.\* A bridge or causeway with a mill upon it then crossed the bay, midway between its commencement and its termination. At a much more distant period the waters of Surpool communicated with those of Stonehouse Pool; and the whole of what is now the southern district of Stonehouse was insulated. So, too, the waters of Sutton Pool, far back in remote antiquity, were connected with the Laira; and then Cattedown was insular likewise. These latter statements are clear deductions from geological data, though they have no place in written history, and therefore Tamarweorth might have been the Saxon name for part of what is now called Plymouth, notwithstanding, indeed rather because of, its meaning. The suggestion that the Roman station of Tamara and Tamarweorth were identical is merely an hypothesis without any evidence in its favour, and does not appear to be the most probable that can be formed.

The old couplet applied with variations to so many places in the kingdom, and locally running thus :

“ Plympton was a borough town  
When Plymouth was a fuzzy down,”

\* The “upper pool.”

is clearly true so far as the relative antiquity of the two places is concerned, although Plymouth had long ceased to be a "fuzzy down" when Plympton was chartered by Baldwin de Redvers in the year 1241. Plympton is said to have been a Roman station. It is open to question however whether Plymstock be not older. The term "stoc" may fairly be taken to indicate either a prior antiquity or a greater relative consequence. The "place" of the Plym clearly was more important than the "town" of the Plym, in days when town signified merely an enclosure, and was applied to every little farm. Be that as it may, Plympton at the time of the Conquest had long been the head of the district; although we have no mention either of it or of Plymouth, then called Sutton, in the record of the defeat of the Danes at Wembury about the year 851. The silence of the Saxon Chronicle respecting Sutton, in recording the raid of the Danes up the Tamar in the year 997, sufficiently testifies to its insignificance at a much later date. The Danish fleet "went about Penwithstert [the Land's End] on the south side, and went then into the mouth of the Tamar and burned and destroyed therein all they met with, and they burned Ordulf's minster at Tavistock, and brought much booty with them to their ships."

In opening Domesday Book we for the first time feel that we are treading upon firm historical ground in relation to Plymouth. We can identify Plympton and Stonehouse beyond all question. We find Plymouth mentioned under the name of Sutton, or Southtown, and forming a part of the Royal domains, as it had before the Conquest; although as there are two

Suttons we are left in doubt whether both entries refer to what is now Plymouth. Probably they did. As to Devonport (Stoke Damerel), there are so many Stokes recorded in Devonshire that the attempt to pick out the right one would be hopeless. One important fact is that we find no trace of Tamarweorth. Tamarlande is there, and Tambretone (Tamerton), but Tamarweorth has dropped out of sight. It disappears and Sutton takes its place. Tamerton is notable as having a salina or salt pit. The entries in Domesday referring to Sutton are as follows :—

Exchequer Domesday.—“Rex ten Svdtone. T.R.E. geldb p una v træ. Tra e VI car. In dnio e dim car cu I seruo 7 IIIJ uilli 7 II bord cu v car. Ibi II ac pti 7 XX ac pasturæ. Redd XX solid ad pensu.”

The king holds Sutton. In the time of King Edward it was taxed as one virgate [about 30 acres] of arable land. There are six carucates [a carucate was as much land as one team could plough in a year] of arable. There is in demesne half a carucate, with one serf, and four villians, and two borderers [cottagers] with five plough teams. There are also two acres of meadow, and twenty acres of pasture. It pays twenty shillings by weight.

The entry in the Exeter Domesday, which varies in form, runs thus :—

“Rex ht I mans q uocat Sutuna q ten Rex E. ea die q f u 7 m 7 reddit gildu p I uirg. Hanc poss arare VI carr. Inde ht R. dim uirga 7 dim carr indnio 7 uill dim uirg 7 v carr. Ibi ht R. IIII uill 7 II bord 7 I seru 7 XV oues 7 II ag pti 7 XX ag pascue 7 redd p ann XX sol ad pond.”

Here the king is said to have a virgate and half a carucate in demesne, and the villians half a virgate. There were also belonging to the king fifteen sheep.\*

The other Sutton belonged to one of the king's servants—Willelmus Hostiarius.

The Exchequer Domesday says:—

“Ricard ten de W [Willelmus] Svton. Vluuin teneb T.R.E. 7 geldb p I hida. Tra e VII car. Indnio e I car 7 II serui 7 VII uilli 7 IIII bord cu IIII car. Oli x sol modo ual xx solid.”

Richard holds of William Sutton, which Ulwin held in the time of King Edward, and was taxed for one hide [about 120 acres]. There are seven carucates of arable land. In demesne there is one carucate, and two serfs, and seven villians, and four borderers with four plough teams. Formerly it paid ten shillings; it is now valued at twenty.

In the Exon Domesday we read the entry thus:—

“Willm hostiari ht I mansione q uocat Sutuna q tenuit Vluuin ea die qua Rex E. f u 7 m 7 reddit gildu p I hida. Hanc poss arare VII carr m ten 7 hanc Ricard de W. Inde ht R. I uirga 7 I carr 7 uillani hnt III uirga 7 IIII carr. Ibi ht R. VII uillanos 7 IIII bord 7 II seruos 7 III animalia 7 LXIII oues 7 ual 7 p annu xx sol 7 quando recepit ualebat. Hec mansio e de excambio Willelmi.”

Here Richard is stated to have one virgate and one

\* In the Exon Domesday, instead of the phrase “time of King Edward,” the phrase is used “in the days when King Edward was alive and dead,” which includes, without naming him, the reign of Harold.

carucate in demesne, and the villians three virgates ; whilst there were upon the manor three cattle and sixty-four sheep. The manor is also said to have been the subject of an exchange.

For the purpose of comparison we give the entries from the Exchequer Book relating to Plympton and Stonehouse.

"Rex ten Plintone. T.R.E. geldb p II hid 7 dim. Tra e XX car. In dnio st II car 7 VI serui 7 XV uilli 7 XII bord cu XII car. Ibi VI ac pti 7 XX ac pasturæ. Silua I leu lg 7 dim lat. Redd XIII lib 7 X solid ad pensu. Præt hanc tra ten canonici ejd M II hid. Tra e VI car. Ibi XII uilli hnt IIIJ car valet XXXV solid."

"The king holds Plympton, which in the time of King Edward was taxed at two hides and a half. There are twenty carucates of arable. In demesne there are two carucates, and seven serfs, and fifteen villians, and twelve borderers with twelve plough teams. There are six acres of meadow and twenty acres of pasture. Wood one league [a leuca or league was one and a half to two miles] long and half a league broad. It pays thirteen pounds ten shillings by weight. Beyond this the Canons hold of the manor two hides; the arable land being six carucates. There are twelve villians having four plough teams, value thirty-five shillings."

Concerning Stonehouse we read :—

"Ipse Ro [Robert Bastardi] ten Stanehvs. Aluuin teneb T.R.E. 7 geldb p una ferling. Tra e I car. Ibi e un uills redd v solid."

Robert the Bastard holds Stonehouse which Alwyn

held in the time of King Edward, and was taxed for one ferling [something less than a virgate]. There is one carucate of arable. At that place there is one villian paying five shillings.

The same Robert is reported to have two villians in the land of St. Peter of Plympton, which Alwyn held in the time of King Edward, paying five shillings.

Thus we find that, whilst assuming both Suttons to be identical with portions of what is now Plymouth, we have only, at the time of the compilation of Domesday, a resident recorded population of 20; at Plympton we have, without the canons, 45. This will be sufficient to indicate the relative importance of the two places eight centuries ago. If only the King's Sutton was connected with Plymouth, of course the disparity would be very greatly increased.

But Plymouth and Plympton were in these early days very closely associated. Thus Leland\* writes (though Domesday gives us no intimation of the fact, unless the land is included in the Plympton entry)—“The chirch and much of the ground whereon Sutton now caullid Plymmouth was builded was longing to one of the Prebendes titulo S. Petri and Pauli of Plympton, a collegiate chirch, alias *Capella libera dni. Regis* before the Conquest.” This college was founded by one of the Saxon kings, probably Edgar, possibly Ethelwolf, who according to tradition had a palace at Yealmpton. It was dissolved by William Warelwast, Bishop of Exeter, nephew and chaplain of William the Conqueror, because the canons or prebendaries—of whom there were four, with a dean

\* “Itinerary.”

—"wold not leve theyr concubines," *i.e.*, give up their wives. They were removed to Boseham in Suffolk; and in 1121 Warelwast founded in the stead of the old college the famous Augustine Priory, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and Saints Peter and Paul. It became one of the richest in the kingdom, being rated at the dissolution at £912 12s. 8d. per annum. To this priory the old collegiate lands in Sutton were annexed, and thenceforth became known as Sutton Prior. The land adjoining had become the property of the Valletorts; and the hamlets thereon were known by the names of Sutton Valletort Vaward or Vautier, and Sutton Ralf. Sutton Valletort was on the north part of the town, Sutton Prior occupied the middle and heart, and Sutton Ralf the east. Leland says that Sutton Valletort was the oldest part of the town, but that at the time of his visit it was "sore decayed." In the name Old Town Street—formerly Old Town—we have a partial corroboration of Leland's statement; and as Sutton signifies South Town, it is not unlikely that this name was given to the houses or huts which were erected along the margin of Sutton Pool, in contradistinction to those of Old Town on the north. If so, Sutton Valletort, *alias* Old Town, may have been the ancient Tamarweorth, and may have lost its identity, first by its decay and then by being overshadowed and merged into its more prosperous neighbour, Sutton.\*

\* Sutton is a name that must have been given with reference to some other place in relation to which Sutton lay south. Plympton lies to the east.

## CHAPTER II.

## RISING FORTUNES.

"Some are born great ; some achieve greatness."—*Shakspeare.*



WE have seen by what slow and uncertain degrees the germ of what in after ages became Plymouth was planted on the shores of the Sound. We have now to trace its gradual development under the fostering care of the Priors of Plympton, until the town took rank with the chief ports in England.

Henry I. gave the manors of Sutton, Maketon, and Kingsteignton, with the fishery of the waters of the Tamar, to Reginald de Valletort, to be held by the service of a knight's fee and a half. The Valletorts were sometime lords of Trematon, and derived considerable privileges from Richard Earl of Cornwall, son of King John, who was King of the Romans, and married his daughter to Ralph Valletort. They were very friendly as a rule to the Priory. Reginald gave his rights of fishery in the Tamar and Lynher, the pool under Halton excepted, to the Canons. Walter de Valletort gave them the island of "St. Nicholas cum caniculus." Ralph de Valletort granted them a site whereon to erect a milldam. This was at Millbay, thence so called. On the other hand John de Valletort, about the middle of the twelfth century, had a dispute



with the brethren concerning the presentation to the benefice of Sutton, when the Prior successfully established his right. According to Browne Willis, the Valletort estates escheated to the Crown on the demise of Roger de Valletort in 1290. Leland preserves a tradition that the greater part of the lands of the Valletorts had been confiscated for "a murder done by one of them." The Manor of Sutton Valletort afterwards came to the Nereys family. About the middle of the fourteenth century it was sold to William Cole. After his death it remained for some years in the hands of feoffees. The Specotts subsequently became the owners. In the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII. Sir Hugh Pollard sold it to William Hawkins, father of the celebrated Admiral. In the reign of James II. it had become the property of Edward Spoure, of whom it was purchased by Thomas Bewes. The estate has remained in the Bewes family ever since. As a manor it has long been extinct, and of late years considerable portions of the land have been sold in lots for building purposes.

It is difficult to say when the manor of Sutton Prior became annexed to the Priory. If Leland is to be trusted, it was appendant (as already stated) to the collegiate church of Plympton before the Conquest, being especially attached to the prebend of St. Peter and Paul. However that may be, we find the Prior of Plympton subsequently exercising the rights of lordship, which afterwards became vested in the corporation. This manor like the other has long been extinct.

The only manorial rights now exercised within the

borough are those of the Prince of Wales as Duke of Cornwall; Sutton Pool and Millbay being part of the honour and lordship of Trematon, given by Edward III. to his son the Black Prince.

But to return to the general history of the town. The Priors continued to be lords of Sutton Prior until the town's Act of Parliament incorporation in 1439, and under their government the community flourished. The rights of the Priors and their brethren did not go unchallenged. The Crown questioned their claim to certain privileges and immunities, and at length under an Exchequer writ, issued in the year 1313, a jury was summoned to determine the points of difference. By their decision the Prior, in consideration of a fee farm rent of £29 6s. 8d. annually paid into the Exchequer for the use of his Majesty, was confirmed in the exercise of various privileges—particularly those of granting leases of houses as lord of the fee; having a view of frankpledge; an assize of bread and beer; a ducking-stool and pillory; and the right of fishery of the waters from the entrance of Cattewater to the head of the river Plym. "In the reign of Edward the Third John de Eltham, as Earl of Cornwall, claimed the fishery of the waters as ancient demesne. The claim occasioned new disputes; but on the declaration of a special jury that the privileges enjoyed by the Prior and his tenants were bestowed by a charter of Henry the Third, the decision made in the time of Edward the Second was again confirmed." After the earldom was erected into a duchy, and conferred upon the Black Prince, there was another inquisition anent Sutton Pool. The Prior claimed a share, and succeeded

in establishing his claim; and although the Pool proper is still part of the Duchy estate, the Corporation, the present representatives of the Priory, are the proprietors of certain quays.

The monks of Plympton appear to have been fully alive to the value of their property at Sutton, and to have neglected no opportunity of developing its resources. Leland remarks: "Al such as hath by continuance sins the Tyme of Henry the Second builded houses in Sutton Prior, now the greatest part of Plymouth, take Licence of the Priorie of Plympton as of their chief Lord." From other sources we learn that by giving privileges, and by granting building leases at small fines, the successive Priors did all they could to encourage people to take up their residence in the growing town.

Sutton, or, as it had already commenced to be called, Plymouth began to make its mark in the history of England nearly five hundred years ago; and the capabilities of its magnificent harbour soon brought it into prominence. The first important historical fact of which we have any record as connected with the town is the assembly there about the year 1287 of a large fleet of ships—325 in number, under the command of the Earl of Lancaster, brother of Edward I., which sailed for Guienne. A few years later Plymouth had attained such importance as to be called upon to send deputies to Parliament. Since, according to Leland, it was in the reign of Henry II. "a mene thing as an Inhabitation of fischars," it must therefore have made very rapid progress.

In 1339 occurred the first of the numerous descents

made by the French upon the town, which invited attack alike by its importance and its helplessness, having at that time nothing whatever in the shape of fortifications. Their visit was in retaliation for the advance of Edward the Third's claim to the French throne. They did very considerable damage, destroying the greater part of the town; but were eventually repulsed by the men of Devon under their Earl. A few years passed and the gallant seamen of Plymouth had their revenge. To the siege of Calais in 1346 Plymouth sent 26 ships, manned by 603 men;\* Millbrook 1, with 12 men; Hooe 2, with 24; and Yealm 2, with 47. In 1350 the French again returned to the charge, after having burnt Teignmouth, but according to Stowe they found the place so well defended that they were only able to destroy "some farms and fair places" in the neighbourhood.†

Edward the Black Prince made Plymouth the headquarters of his operations against France. He is said to have landed in the port in 1348, and to have honoured the Prior with his presence at dinner. In 1355 it became the rendezvous of the English fleet. "Heere [says Carew] the never enough commended

\* Fowey sent the greatest number of any port in the kingdom, 47, with 770 men. Yarmouth came next; and Dartmouth next, with 31 ships and 757 men. London only sent 25 vessels. Bristol 22 ships and 608 men.

† Perhaps this was the occasion when West Stonehouse, a hamlet at Mount Edgcumbe, was destroyed. Carew says the ruins were to be seen in his time. There appears, however, to have been a small fishing village there, not long previous to the middle of the last century, which is said to have been removed for the improvement of the Park. It occupied part of the site of the present gardens.

Black Prince, attended by the Earles of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Sarisbury*, and *Oxford*, the Lord Chandos and others, committed himself to the sea, with a navy of 300 bottoms for landing and maintayning his father's right in France; and hither after his glorious battel at Poitiers he returned, with the captive French king and his nobles." This last statement of Carew has been doubted; and other accounts make the Prince land at Sandwich. Yet Izaacke in his *Antiquities of Exeter* repeats the story thus:—"Prince Edward brought over into *England* John, the French king, and sundry of his noblemen, all as Prisoners, who landed at *Plymouth*, and from thence came to this City [Exeter], where they were honourably received and so conveyed to *London*."

The Black Prince was detained at Plymouth before he set sail upon this expedition forty days by contrary winds. A highly interesting document has recently been brought to light at Mount Edgcumbe, which contains a record of the first acts done by him as Duke of Cornwall. Many of these are noted to have been done at Plympton Priory or at Plymouth, during the forty days of detention. At that time there existed an officer called the havener, acting for the duchy; and there is good evidence that the duchy rights and dues were by no means of an unremunerative character. Even then, therefore, the commerce of Plymouth was of some importance. There are a couple of amusing entries relating to the ferries. One is a grant to a follower of the Prince of the ferry at Asche (Saltash), in consideration of his services and his disfigurement by the loss of an eye in battle. The

other is the complaint of the master of a foreign trader—a Hamburger—that his boat had been taken for the use of the ferry at Cremill, while the Cremill boat had been taken for Saltash, whilst the Saltash boat was under repair; and his grievance appears to have been, not so much that the boat was taken, as that he had not received the tolls during its use. The same document contains the record of a grant by the Prince to certain "poor brothers" at Plymouth.

A subsequent entry in "Izaacke" records:—In 1371 "*Edward the Black Prince* returns sick from *France* with the *Princess* his Lady, and *Richard* their son (who was afterwards King of England by the name of *Richard* the Second), and arrived at *Plymouth*."

Plymouth had several important privileges conferred upon it in the reign of Richard II. In 1384 it was named as one of the places at which passports to depart the realm might be had. So in 1389, it was ordered that with the exception of known merchants and soldiers, and others going to Ireland, no persons should without license depart the realm elsewhere than at Dover or Plymouth. These two ports moreover were named as the only legal places of transit for pilgrims to cross the Channel. This greatly increased Plymouthian prosperity.

In 1399 the French again attacked Plymouth, and again endeavoured to fire the town. They were, however, repulsed with a loss of 500 men by the people of Plymouth and the neighbourhood. There is some ground to question whether this attack and the next to be recorded are not different versions

of the same affair. The dates generally are very uncertain. This other account states that in 1400, the French fleet, under James de Bourbon, put into Plymouth on its way to Wales, and destroyed a considerable portion of the town and neighbourhood; and that a gale springing up some of the largest ships were destroyed, whilst the rest escaped with difficulty. Not long afterwards Plymouth received a blow from the same quarter, that it did not recover from for many years. In the year 1403 the Sieur du Chastel, Lord of Brittany, made a descent upon the town with a mingled force of Normans and Bretons, and landing at the spot which was thence called Breton Side, burnt upwards of 600 houses,\* but failed in his attempts to destroy the castle and the upper parts of the town; although he took many prisoners. As Briton Side the spot continued to be known, until in the present year the Town Council changed the name to Exeter Street.

This attack of the Bretons led to reprisals. William Wilford, "born nigh Plymouth, a valiant and successful seaman . . . took forty ships on the coast of the *Britains*, and burnt as many at *Penarch*, repaying the *Monsieurs* in their own Coyn."† To the success of this expedition Dartmouth so largely contributed that M. du Chastel made a descent upon it in the following year (1404). Thinking to be as successful there as he had been at Plymouth, he went on shore with his men, but met with an unanticipated resistance. Townsfolk and country people joined their forces, and "the women, like Amazons, by hurling of

\* Holinshed.

† "English Worthies."

flints and pebbles, and such like artillery, did greatly advance their husbands' and kinsfolks' victory." Du Chastel and many others were slain ; but three lords and twenty knights of note were saved, as many more might have been, had not ignorance of the language confounded the cries alike of indignation and pity. The prisoners were taken to the king, who filled the purses of their captors with "golden coyn."\*

These continual attacks of the French upon the town caused it to be selected as a national point of defence, when in 1442 it was decided to have upon the sea continually eight ships from Candlemas to Martinmas, to have one with another 150 men each. Every ship was to have a barge and balynger attending upon her. At Plymouth was to be procured a barge called the Mangeleke in the water of Saltash ; and at Saltash itself a barge called the Slugge barge. Dartmouth had to furnish two ships.

The proceedings and ordinances of the Privy Council during the fifteenth century contain numerous references to Plymouth, which we may take as some indication of its importance at that period. Thus we find Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Lincoln, with the Earls of Somerset and Worcester, who had been sent to escort the second wife of Henry IV., Joan of Navarre, to England, writing from Plymouth in Dec., 1402, to say that they had been driven back from the coast of Brittany by stress of weather. Subsequently we have the same bishop, then on his way to the Holy Land, writing from Bruges to the Bishop of Durham, as Lord Chancellor, concerning a grievance

\* Speed.



of the burgomaster and echevins of that city. Certain goods belonging to them had been seized on board a Genoese carrack at Plymouth, and Beaufort asks that these might be restored, remarking that if they were not ten times their value would be taken.

The port at this time was frequented by the vessels of all maritime nations, and of some that were hardly considered maritime until a much later period. Thus we have in 1417 a memorandum to speak to the king about the release of a Prussian ship lying there.

Under the year 1419 there is a most amusing entry. The king has learnt that Thomas ap Reen (or Reece), and other merchants of Bristol, have "taken to the port of Plymouth certain carracks and other vessels charged with good merchandise of Janevois (Genoese) and others our enemies;" and having a fancy for certain of the goods asks that they may be sold to him, promising that he will most faithfully pay.

In 1423 the Mayor of Plymouth, in conjunction with the Mayors of London, Bristol, Hull, Lynn, and Yarmouth, is ordered to proclaim to all persons who may wish to buy certain great ships, that they are for sale at Southampton. The date of this entry, being sixteen years antecedent to the Act of Parliament incorporation of the town, is one proof among others that there existed a Corporation of some kind long before that period.

In 1433 we find the "customers and comptrollers" of Plymouth and other ports ordered to appear at Westminster with their accounts. The subsidies on wool were then 3s. a ton, and 12d. in the pound. Customers and comptrollers were not the only represen-

tatives of royalty at Plymouth during this period. One John Hampton, Esquire, is noted in Feb., 1434, as having been appointed to the office of water bailiff of Plymouth by the King, Henry VI. The office, with that of ranger of the forest of Kingare, was valued at £9 annually.

Most of the foregoing entries are in French, but under the year 1453 we have one in the vernacular, which curiously illustrates the way in which naval expeditions were fitted out in those days, and at the same time indicates very forcibly the position which Plymouth as a port occupied. The king is about to despatch a "great and notable armee" to France; and he writes to the "mayors and customers" of Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Fowey, "preying heretely that by all the weyes and menes possable unto you, ye on our behalve sture, moeve, trete, and enduce all the oweners and maisters of the shippes and vessailles that belonge unto owre porte to be ready to go."

With another citation, of nearly 100 years later date, we close our extracts from these records. In 1540 the good people of Plymouth were accused of plundering or "spoyling" a Portugalle ship which had gone on shore; and in the following year a letter was written to Richard Edgcumbe and others giving them charge to examine into the matter, and to send to prison the chief offenders.

Late in the fifteenth century Plymouth became the arena of some of the struggles between the Houses of York and Lancaster. In 1470 the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Clarence (brother of Edward IV., who was well known in the town, having paid it previous

visits, and was probably popular), with the Earls of Pembroke and Oxford, landed at Plymouth,\* and commenced the revolt which caused the temporary restoration of Henry VI. Proclaiming Henry at Plymouth, they proceeded to London, and caused Edward to fly into Burgundy within eleven days after Warwick had set foot in England. In the following year, the day on which Edward gained his decisive victory over Warwick at Barnet, the 4th of April, Margaret of Anjou, queen of Henry, landed at Plymouth,† with her son Edward and a body of French auxiliaries, who were afterwards totally defeated at Tewkesbury.

Carew remarks that he had heard the inhabitants of Cawsand report "that the Earle of *Richmond* (afterwards *Henry* the Seventh), while hee hovered upon the coast here [Cawsand] by stealth refreshed himselfe; but being aduertised of streight watch kept for his surprising at *Plymouth*, he richly rewarded his hoste, hyed speedily a shipboord, and escaped happily to a better fortune." The substantial accuracy of this statement is borne out by a royal proclamation directed against Henry in 1483, which sets forth that "the said Henry callyng hymself Erle of Richemond, and Jasper, callyng hymself Erle of Pembroke, and their adherents, beyng Enemyes to oure said Sovereigne Lord, came falsely and traiterously with a greate Navye and Armye of Straungiers" to Plymouth, "and there falsly and traiterously to have arrived and destroyed our said Sovereigne Lord's

\* Dartmouth is elsewhere stated to have been the port of disembarkation.

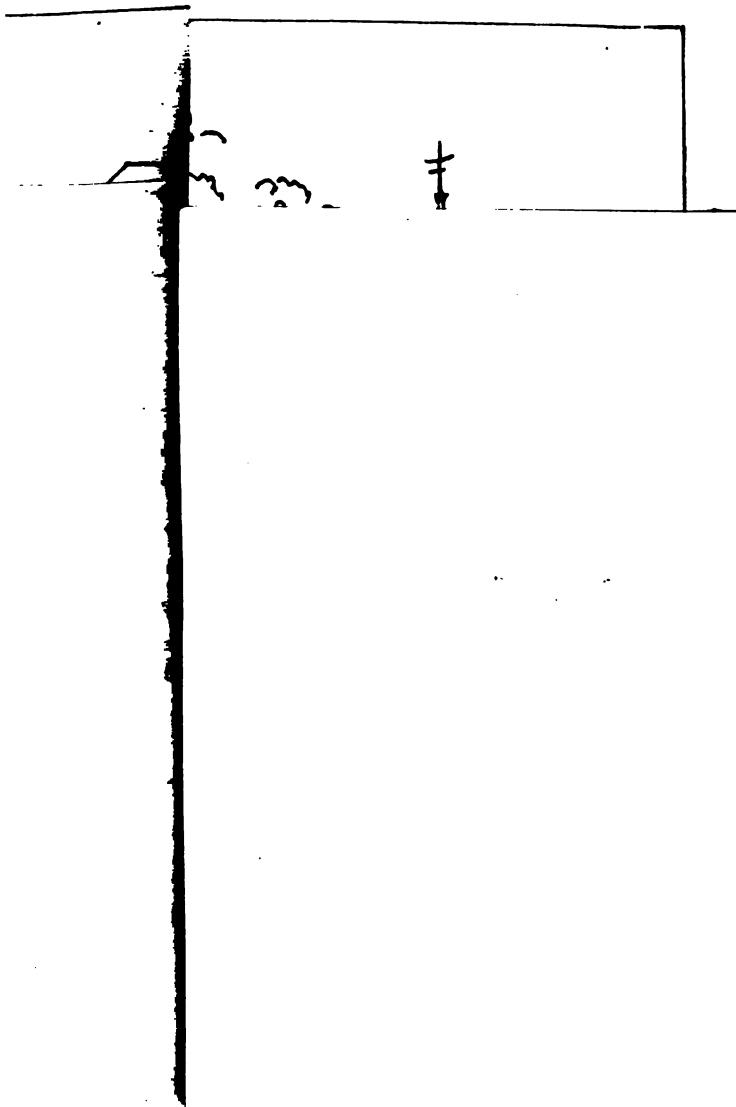
† Some authorities say Weymouth.

most roiall p'sonne, his true subgetts, and this his Reame."

Towards the end of the year 1498 the Warbeckian insurrection excited much commotion in the West, in which however Plymouth does not appear to have been prominently concerned, although "Robert Warweke of Plymouth, yeoman," subsequently figures in a proclamation as one of the rebels. Warbeck landed at Whitsand Bay, near the Land's End, not at Whitsand Bay, near Plymouth, as from the identity of name has sometimes wrongly been inferred.

In 1501 Catharine of Arragon landed at Plymouth on her way to wed Prince Arthur. She was duly entertained by the Mayor, Corporation, and surrounding gentry, and lodged in the house of a rich merchant named Paynter. Lord Brook, steward of the Royal Palace, the Duchess of Norfolk, and the Earl of Surrey, were sent West to attend upon her. From Plymouth she went to London by way of Exeter. Izaacke's note concerning her entertainment in the ever-faithful city is too amusing to be omitted:—"In the month of *October*, the Lady *Katherine Prince Arthur's spouse* arrived at Plymouth, unto whom forthwith resorted the Gentry of the County, and conducted her hither, and lodged her in the *Dean's House*, and had such entertainment as did belong to so honourable a Personage. Whilst she remained here the weather proved stormy, and the weather-cock on *St. Mary's steeple* kept such a noise, that the Princess could not sleep, which occasioned the taking down of the said cock, which was erected again on her departure, and shortly thereafter the whole steeple was taken down."

During the Western rebellions in the  
Edward VI.—1548-9—Drake's Island "y  
safe protection to divers dutyful subjects, w  
shrowded themselves." One rebel is said  
been burnt at the expense of the town of P.  
The Mayor, Corporation, and inhabitants c  
the refugees.



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## CHAPTER III.

## "THE DAYS OF GOOD QUEEN BESS."

"The brave old men of Devonshire!  
 'Tis worth a world to stand  
 As Devon's sons on Devon soil,  
 Though infants of the band,  
 And tell old England to her face,  
 If she is great in fame,  
 'Twas stout old heart of Devon oak  
 That made her glorious name!"—*Capern.*



T was the Plymouth of the days of Elizabeth that Drayton had in mind when he sang—

"Upon the British coast what ship yet ever came  
 That not of Plymouth heares? where those brave navies lie  
 From cannons' thundering throat that all the world defie."

In the latter half of the sixteenth century Devonshire was the foremost county in England; and Plymouth its foremost town. Elizabeth called the men of Devonshire her right hand, and carried her liking for matters Devonian to such an extreme, that one of the earliest passports of Raleigh to her favour was the fact that he talked the broadest dialect of the shire, and never abandoned it for the affected speech which was current at court.

Contemporary writings abound with references to the fame of Elizabethan Plymouth. Camden says: "The town is not very large, but its name and repu-



tation is very great among all nations, and this not so much for the convenience of the harbour as for the valour and worth of the inhabitants."\* Pole remarks: "Plymouth from a small town is now one of the greatest."

Carew soars far above the level of his quaint, shrewd, gossiping style in sounding its praises: "Here [says he] mostly have the troops of adventurers made their rendezvous for attempting new discoveries or inhabitancies, as Thomas Stukeleigh for Florida, Sir Richard Grenville for Virginia, Sir Humphry Gilbert for Newfoundland, Sir Martin Frobisher and Master Davies for the North-west Passage, Sir Walter Raleigh for Guiana, &c. Here Count Montgomery made forth with a more commendable meaning than able meanes or wel-speeding effect for relieving the hard-besieged and sore-distressed Rochellers. Here Sir Francis Drake first extended the point of that liquid line wherewith (as an emulator of the sunne's glorie) he encompassed the world. Here Master Candish began to second him with a like heroical spirit and fortunate success. Here Don Antonio, King of Portugal,† the Earles of Cumberland, Essex, and Nottingham, the Lord Warden of the Stannaries,‡ Sir John Norris, Sir John Hawkins

\* "Britannia."

† Izaacke's note on the arrival of Don Antonio at Plymouth in 1584 is:—"In the month of *September* *Don Antonio* King of *Portugal*, being driven out of his own Country by *Philip* King of *Spain*, arrived at *Plymouth*, and upon St. Michael's Day came to the City [Exeter], who with his retinue (during their abode here) were lodged in this Mayor's house [John Davy], and by him very liberally entertained."

‡ Sir Walter Raleigh.

(and who elsewhere and not here?) have ever accustomed to cut sail in carrying defiance against the imaginary new monarch [the King of Spain], and here to cast anchor upon their return with spoil and honour. I omit the infinite swarm of single ships daily here manned out to the same effect. And here in '88, the forementioned Lord Admiral expected and set forth against that heaven-threatening Armada, which to be taunted with the shamefuller disgrace, and to blaze our renown with the brighter lustre, termed itself invincible."

Westcote, when another half-century had passed, declared, "Whatever show it makes in description, it is far larger in fame, and known to the farthest and the most remote parts of the world. . . . In a word, I think it second to no town in England for worth every way; yea, it is so esteemed of our neighbours the Cornishmen, that they would by few very slender reasons claim it from us as their own." \*

Plymouth attained this position by no accidental, no sudden means. From the commencement of the century her seamen had borne their part in the new work of Western discovery and adventure. One of them at least, Martin Cockeram or Cockrem, sailed with Sebastian Cabôt, the discoverer in 1497, with his father, of the mainland of America, and in after years the explorer of the River Plate, whither Cockrem accompanied him. And when another Plymouth worthy, old William Hawkins (father of Sir John), "a man for his wisdom, value, experience, and skill in sea causes, much esteemed and valued of

\* "Devon."

K. Henry the 8,"\* became the pioneer of English adventure in the South Seas, and sailed in 1530 in the *Paul* of Plymouth, on the first of his three voyages to Brazil, Cockrem went also, and was left in pledge with the natives for the safety of one of the "savage kings," whom Hawkins brought back with him to England. Unhappily the poor Brazilian died ere he could return; but the natives believed in the good faith of the English people, seeing that Hawkins had "behaved wisely" towards them, and restored Cockrem—thus the first Englishman who ever dwelt in South America, possibly the first who ever set foot on the Western Continent—to his friends. Cockrem outlived his old captain, and was living still, the patriarch of Plymouth seamen, the last link between the old times and the new, long after his old captain's son, the famous Sir John, had proved a worthy inheritor of his father's skill and daring.

Advanced by such means, it is thus no exaggeration to say that, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Plymouth was the foremost port in England. The history of the relations of Elizabeth with Spain, and the general history of the town during her reign, are so connected that the one includes the other. If any person desired to see her English worthies, Plymouth was the likeliest place to seek them. Hardly one but was in some fashion associated with the old town. These were days when men were indifferent whether they fought upon land or water; when the fact that a man was a good general was considered the best of all reasons why he should be a good admiral likewise.

\* Hakluyt.

"*Per mare, per terram*," was the motto of Elizabeth's "true-born Englishman," and familiar and dear to them all was Plymouth with its narrow streets, its dwarfish quays, its broad waters, and its glorious Hoe.

Admiral of the port and sometime treasurer of the navy was sturdy old Sir John Hawkins, descended on his mother's side from one of the best families of Cornwall, the Trelawnys, and in right of his father possessing hereditary claims to be one of the sea-dogs of Devonshire. Little dignity had he of person or of office; but his courage was unquestionable; and there never lived a warmer stickler for the national honour. This his son Sir Richard tells us a certain Spanish admiral discovered to his cost. Entering the port in time of peace without lowering his flag or striking his topsails, Hawkins gently reminded him of his want of courtesy by sending a cannon ball crashing through his galleon's sides.

There is certainly another interpretation of this transaction. According to the account given by Mr. Froude,\* the ship was in Cattewater, and had a number of prisoners from the Low Countries on board. Hawkins affected to suppose that she came with bad intentions; fired upon her, and in the tumult thence ensuing the prisoners got free. The Spanish Ambassador protested against the proceeding, but to little purpose.

Prince,† who says that "Plymouth is a port so famous that it hath a kind of invitation from the commodiousness thereof to maritime noble actions,"

\* "History of England." † "Worthies of Devon."

speaks of Hawkins in high terms. His first voyage to the West Indies was made in 1562. The little fleet consisted of three vessels—the largest, the *Solomon*, of 120 tons, manned by 100 men. In this expedition he established the slave trade, by carrying 300 (another account says 500) negroes from Guinea to the Spanish settlements in America. He returned in September, 1563. The following year he set sail again for Guinea and New Spain, with the *Jesus of Lubeck*, a fine craft of 700 tons, and three other vessels, the smallest, the *Swallow*, of 30 tons only. He subsequently engaged in the expedition to Rochelle, and in other voyages to the West; one of which, in 1568, ended unfortunately. Hawkins died in November, 1595, whilst employed in the joint expedition with Drake to the West Indies, which cost England the lives of both these great captains. His “sickness began upon the news of the taking” of one of the vessels, called the *Francis*; and Drake’s, as we shall see, was caused in a similar manner.

Hawkins served his country in other ways than by his sea skill, notably by pretending to be a favourer of the cause of Mary of Scots, and deluding Philip into the belief that he had secured the redoubtable Achines, as he was called in the Peninsula, as an ally. The old admiral’s family has still representatives in Plymouth.

Sir John’s brother William likewise did the State good service, but the most prominent member of the family next to himself was his son Sir Richard, also a native of Plymouth, and according to Prince the sixth captain who passed the Straits of Magellan.

He obtained the honourable sobriquet of the "complete seaman;" was for several years in a Spanish prison, and is said to have been the hero of the popular ballad—

"Would you know a Spanish lady,  
How she wooed an Englishman."

Then we have Drake, a Plymouthian by adoption, and almost one by birth, whom Camden calls "without dispute the greatest captain of the age;" and who is unquestionably the central figure of the sea life of these times. A kinsman of Hawkins, he was associated with him in several daring enterprises. There were many giants in these days, but Drake with his bullet head, his dogged determination, his unflinching pluck, was the typical Englishman of the age. Beloved at home, he was terrible abroad; and many a legend obtained ready credence among the Spaniards—and for that matter the English also—concerning his magical powers.\*

Camden says of Drake that he, "first to repair the loss he had sustained from the Spaniards, did as it were block up the Bay of Mexico for two years glorious with continual defeats, and travelled over the Straits of Darien, whence having descried the South Seas, it made such impression on his mind, that like Themistocles influenced with the trophies of

\* Thus it is said that he brought the leat into Plymouth by pronouncing certain magical words over a Dartmoor spring, which caused it to follow the heels of his horse back to the town. There are likewise traditions that he made fire ships to destroy the Armada, by throwing chips of wood into the water; and that to prevent his wife's marrying in his absence, thinking him dead, he fired a cannon ball through the world which came up between her and her intended at the altar.

Miltiades, he thought he should be wanting to himself, his country, and his own glory, if he did not complete the discovery."

Drake was brought to the sea under Hawkins; and accompanied him on the voyage to Vera Cruz in 1568, which ended disastrously, Drake losing all he had. His first separate expedition against his natural enemies the Spaniards was in 1572, in May of which year he set out, with the *Pascha* of 70 tons, and the *Swan* of 25, commanded by his brother John, the joint crews numbering 73 men, on his memorable expedition to Nombre de Dios. He returned on Sunday, the 9th of August, in the following year. The inhabitants were engaged in worship at St. Andrew Church; but when the news of Drake's arrival reached them, straightway the congregation swarmed out to the Hoe to welcome their hero home.

Four years later Drake started on his famous voyage of circumnavigation. His little fleet was of five ships, the *Pelican* of 120 tons, *Elizabeth* of 80, *Swan* of 50, *Marygold* of 30, and *Christopher* of 15; the crews mustering 164 men, all told.\* He sailed on the 15th of November, 1577, giving out that he was proceeding on a voyage to Alexandria; but was compelled to put back, and did not take his final departure until the 13th of December following. Nearly three years elapsed before he returned. Disaster and disaffection had broken up the little fleet, but he persevered, and

\* One of the most notable features of the English maritime expeditions of those days is the smallness of the vessels. Drake and his fellows go voyages of discovery to the other hemisphere, and fight battles too, in craft which a modern trawler would despise.

on the 3rd November, 1580, brought the *Pelican* safely back to Plymouth again ; the first English captain and the first English ship that had "ploughed a furrow round the world." Great was the rejoicing. Plymouth turned out, headed by the mayor and corporation, to greet the dauntless sailor ; the bells of St. Andrew rang merry peals the livelong day ; and from far and near Devonshire men flocked to the town to welcome and honour their brave brother. The *Pelican* when she returned was crammed with treasure. Drake was allowed by the Queen an opportunity of helping himself ; after which there remained on board, besides gold and plate, twenty tons of silver. \*

Drake's thenceforward historic bark was afterwards taken round to Deptford, and on the following April he had the honour of entertaining the Queen on board. Elizabeth with that rare appreciation of merit which she possessed, then conferred upon him the highest honour in her power to bestow, that of knighthood. The Queen appreciated the value of these expeditions quite as fully as any one in her dominions. It was her custom to make much of her seamen. Thus when Frobisher left the Thames on one of his expeditions, she bade him farewell by "shaking her hand at us out of the window."

In 1585, Drake with a fleet of twenty-five sail, made another expedition to the West Indies. His next exploit, performed in 1587, was what he jocularly called "singeing the King of Spain's beard." With his fleet he so ravaged the coast of Spain as to delay

\* Cavendish, who also started from Plymouth, made a circumnavigation in three ships between July, 1586, and September, 1588.



the sailing of the Armada for a year. In the account of this voyage the English are said to have satisfied themselves that the "carracks were no such bugs,\* but they might be taken," and that four ships "made no account of twenty gallies." In August, 1595, Drake and Hawkins sailed together from the port to which they were never to return, with a fleet of twenty-seven vessels. Two months after Hawkins died (*i. e.*, January, 1596) Drake died also, chagrin at the failure of an attack upon Panama producing his illness. "He used some speeches a little before his death, rising and apparelling himself."

Drake was a man of such activities, that when at home he could not remain idle. He became Mayor of Plymouth, and like Hawkins represented the town in Parliament. Moreover he united to his sea skill and powers the qualifications, rare in those days, of a civil engineer, as the Plymouth leat, a work worthy to be ranked with Sir Hugh Middleton's New River, can testify. The esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries, and especially by fellow west countrymen, seems to have been unbounded. Witness the lines inscribed beneath his portrait in the Plymouth Guildhall :—

"Sir Drake whom well the world's end knew,  
Which thou didst compasse rounde,  
And whom both poles of Heaven ons saw,  
Which North and South doe bound :  
The starrs above will make thee knowne,  
If men here silent were ;

\* Hobgoblins—hence bogy. An old version of the Psalms reads, "Thou shalt not be afraid of the *bug* by night," instead of the *terror*.



*Fras L. pa. kg*



The Sunn himself cannot forgett  
His fellow Traveller!"

"Great Drake, whose shippe about the worlde's wide waste  
In three years did a golden girdle cast.  
Who with fresh streams refresht this Towne that first,  
Though kist with waters, yet did pine for thirst.  
Who both a Pilote and a Magistrate  
Steered in his turne the Shippe of Plymouthe's state;  
This little table shewes his face whose worth  
The worlde's wide table hardly can sett forth."

Prince describes Drake as being low in stature, but set and strong grown, a very religious man toward God and His houses generally, sparing churches wherever he came, chaste in his life, just in his dealings, true to his word.

During his year of Mayoralty, 1582, Sir Francis set up a compass on the Hoe, which was repaired in 1672, and was still in existence in 1730.

Only second to Drake and Hawkins as a seaman was Raleigh, the finished courtier, statesman, philosopher, and soldier, the very epitome of the spirit of the age, fated to be led away to the death to which the pedant tyrant James had doomed him, from the town which he had so often visited, and rarely without advantage to his country and credit to himself.\* Grenville the undaunted, the Bayard of his country and generation; the brothers Gilbert, with their manly piety and grand projects; the unfortunate Oxenham;† Davies, Frobisher (who died at Plymouth

\* Raleigh's china shaving basin was seventy years ago in the possession of Haydon the painter.

† "John Oxnam, who by report of an enemy, a Spaniard, adventure to do that which no man durst do before him, going over the land from Nombre de Dios to Panama, was once possessed of 60,000 pounds

in 1594), Fenner, and many another man of mark in these stirring times, all knew and loved Plymouth. Such were the leaders; but we must go deeper still. Hosts of unrecorded heroes made up the maritime population of the western ports in these days, and heartily followed where the others led. A Drake, a Hawkins, a Raleigh, a Gilbert, or a Grenville, never looked in vain to Plymouth, or Dartmouth, or Bideford for a crew. The twin spirit, love of adventure, hatred of the Spaniard, pervaded the whole community.

Plymouth was not only a standing menace to Spain during the Elizabethan period—so to say a clenched fist perpetually held up in the Spanish king's face—but was the rendezvous of the Huguenot naval power likewise. Francesco Diaz, captain of one of the Spanish treasure ships, in a letter which is quoted by Mr. Froude in his History, reports that when he took his vessel into Plymouth, in 1568, he found there thirteen French cruisers, which with half a dozen English, carried the flag of the Prince of Condè, and took it in turns by night and by day to scour the Channel in search of Catholic ships, to whatever country they belonged. William Hawkins, brother of John, commanded one of these cruisers, and Diaz complains that the Mayor was one of the chief purchasers of the prize goods that were brought in. Diaz subsequently had a grievance of his own. The Vice-Admiral seized sixty-four chests of silver, which

weight of gold and 100,000 of silver, and had not his company wrangled with him, might have brought it home, and much more; but variance overthrew his voyage with the loss of their lives."—*Westcote*.

were in his ship, and deposited them in the Town Hall; searching likewise all the Spanish and Flemish craft in the port.

Passing by for the time the records of discovery and settlement in the far West, we come to the defeat of the Armada, the most memorable event associated with the history of Plymouth. Every one is familiar with Macaulay's ringing fragment. Plymouth strikes the key note.

"It was about the glorious close of a warm summer's day,  
There came a gallant merchant ship full sail to Plymouth Bay;  
Her crew had seen Castile's black fleet, beyond Aurigny's Isle,  
At earliest twilight on the wave lie heaving many a mile.  
At sunrise she escaped their van, by God's especial grace,  
And the tall Pinta till the noon had held her close in chase.  
Forthwith a guard at every gun was placed along the wall;  
The beacon blazed upon the roof of Edgcumbe's lofty hall;  
Many a light fishing bark put out to pry along the coast;  
And with loose rein and bloody spur rode inland many a post.  
With his white hair unbonnetted the stout old sheriff comes:  
Behind him march the halberdiers, before him sound the drums.  
His yeomen round the market cross make clear an ample space,  
For there behoves him to set up the standard of her Grace.  
And merrily the trumpets sound, and gaily dance the bells,  
As slow upon the labouring wind the royal blazon swells.  
Look! how the lion of the sea lifts up his ancient crown,  
And underneath his deadly paw turns the gay lilies down.  
So glared he when at Azincour in wrath he turned to bay,  
And crushed and torn beneath his feet the princely hunters lay;  
So stalked he when he turned to flight on that famed Picard field  
Bohemia's plume, Genoa's bow, and Cæsar's eagle shield."

The Armada consisted of 150 ships, most of them of great size (the total tonnage being 60,000 tons), carrying 2,650 guns, and manned by 32,000 soldiers, sailors, and volunteers. A return by Sir John Haw-

kins, preserved among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, places the total number of the English fleet, including victuallers, at 190 ships, of 31,985 tons, and manned by 15,272 men. Of these the "vessels of Her Majesty" numbered 34, of 12,190 tons, manned by 6,225 men. The largest ship was of 1100 tons, and was commanded by Frobisher. Hawkins had the *Victory*, of 800, and Drake the *Revenge*, of 500. The Plymouth contingent was seven ships and a fly boat. Hawkins writes that the charge "of the army prepared against the Spaniard from the beginning of November, 1587, to the last of September, 1588, above the charges borne by the port townes throughout the realme, the victual excepted," was £35,100.\*

The English fleet was under the command of Lord Howard of Effingham as admiral, with Drake and Hawkins as vice and rear admirals, whilst all the famous seamen of the time held commands; and there they lay in Cattewater, "a paltry squadron enough in modern eyes, the largest of them not equal in size to a six and thirty gun frigate,"† waiting the approach of the most stupendous force then known. The news that the Armada was off the coast was brought about four o'clock on the afternoon of the 19th July, but the fleet itself did not appear in sight of Plymouth until noon of the following day. The English had almost given up expecting the Spaniards, and consequently were somewhat unready.

\* Out of 10,000 "able men" in Devon 6200 were armed and 3660 trained; out of 7766 able men in Cornwall 3600 were armed and 1500 trained.

† "Westward Ho!"

Tradition has recorded that the news of the approach of the enemy came to the captains whilst they were playing bowls on the Hoe—the bowling green being evidently somewhere near the Citadel, whence the fleet in Cattewater could be clearly seen, and a good look-out kept seaward. In language that makes the actors in the great drama live and move before us Canon Kingsley has described the scene :—

“In the little terrace bowling green behind the Pelican Inn, on the afternoon of the 19th of July, chatting in groups or lounging on the sea wall, which commanded a view of the Sound and of the shipping far below, were gathered almost every notable man of the Plymouth fleet, the whole *posse comitatus* of England's forgotten worthies. . . . See those five talking earnestly in the centre of a ring, whom every one longs to overhear, and yet is too respectful to approach close. The soft long eyes and pointed chin you recognise already; they are Walter Raleigh's. The fair young man in the flame-coloured doublet, whose arm is round Raleigh's neck, is Lord Sheffield; opposite them stands by the side of Sir Richard Grenville, a man as stately even as he, Lord Sheffield's uncle, the Lord Charles Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral of England; next to him is his son-in-law, Sir Robert Southwell, captain of the *Elizabeth Jonas*: but who is that short, sturdy, plainly dressed man, who stands with legs a little apart, and hands behind his back, looking up with keen grey eyes into the face of each speaker? His cap is in his hand, so you can see the bullet head of crisp brown hair and the wrinkled forehead, as well



as the high cheek bones, the short square face, the broad temples, the thick lips, which are yet firm as granite. A coarse plebeian stamp of man : yet the whole figure and attitude are that of boundless determination, self-possession, energy ; and when at last he speaks a few blunt words, all eyes are turned respectfully upon him ;—for his name is Francis Drake. A burly grizzled elder, in greasy sea-stained garments, contrasting oddly with the huge gold chain about his neck, waddles up, as if he had been born, and had lived ever since, in a gale of wind at sea. The upper part of his sharp dogged visage seems of brick red leather, the lower of badger's fur ; and as he claps Drake on the back, and with a broad Devon twang shouts, ' Be you a coming to drink your wine, Francis Drake, or be you not ?—saving your presence, my lord,' the Lord High Admiral only laughs and bids Drake go and drink his wine ; for John Hawkins, admiral of the port, is the patriarch of Plymouth seamen if Drake be their hero, and says and does pretty much what he likes in any company on earth ; not to mention that to-day's prospect of an Armageddon fight has shaken him altogether out of his usual crabbed reserve, and made him overflow with loquacious good humour even to his rival Drake. So they push through the crowd, wherein is many another man whom one would gladly have spoken with face to face on earth. Martin Frobisher and John Davis are sitting on that bench, smoking tobacco from long silver pipes ; and by them are Fenton and Withrington, who have both tried to follow Drake's path round the world, and failed,

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though by no fault of their own. The man who pledges them better luck next time is George Fenner, known to the 'seven Portugals,' Leicester's pet, and captain of the galleon which Elizabeth bought of him. That short prim man in the huge yellow ruff, with sharp chin, minute imperial, and self-satisfied smile, is Richard Hawkins, the complete seaman, Admiral John's hereafter famous and hapless son. The elder who is talking with him is his good uncle William, whose monument still stands, or should stand, in Deptford Church; for Admiral John set it up there but one year after this time, and on it recorded how he was 'A worshipper of the true religion, an especial benefactor of poor sailors, a most just arbitrator in most difficult causes, and of a singular faith, piety, and prudence.' That and the fact that he got creditably through some sharp work at Porto Rico is all I know of William Hawkins; but if you or I, reader, can have as much, or half as much, said of us when we have to follow him, we shall have no reason to complain. There is John Drake, Sir Francis's brother, ancestor of the present stock of Drakes; and there is George his nephew, a man not over wise, who has been round the world with Amyas; and there is Amyas himself, talking to one who answers him with fierce curt sentences—Captain Barker, of Bristol."

And so our Devonshire prose epic goes on to recount how the news of the approach of the Armada was brought by Capt. Fleming, and how it was received by Drake and Hawkins, and the rest. Their now historic game of bowls was played out the Spaniards

notwithstanding, and tradition has assigned to Drake the pithy sentence, "There is time enough to play the game out first, and thrash the Spaniards afterwards."

The circumstances under which the Armada was destroyed belong to the general history of the country, and need not be recited here. To one point however reference must be made. The only man of note among the English who fell, one Capt. Cooke, or Cock, whom an old writer calls "a cock of the game," was a native of Plymouth. He was a volunteer, had fitted out a ship on his own account, and having taken a Spanish vessel, died in the moment of victory.

A number of Spaniards captured by Drake were kept in prison, at Plymouth, for a year and a half until ransomed.

In commemoration of the defeat of the Armada, it was the custom for the bells of St. Andrew to ring a merry peal annually on the Saturday night preceding the 25th of July. On the Sunday the Corporation used to walk to church in state. For more than two hundred years the anniversary was thus celebrated in Plymouth. It has been reserved for the nineteenth century to put an end to this interesting practice.

Plymouth during the whole of Elizabeth's reign continued to be the rendezvous of the various expeditions sent out against the Spaniard. In April, 1589, that under Drake and Norris, intended to place Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal, sailed. It did considerable damage to the enemy, but could not take Lisbon. Half of the 20,000 volunteers who

manned it perished by sickness, famine, fatigue, or the sword. Then in June, 1596, was despatched the memorable and successful expedition against Cadiz, of which Howard and Essex were the chief commanders, and which consisted of 170 ships and 15,000 men, besides a Dutch contingent of 20 vessels. So many knights were made at Cadiz that the plentiful crop gave rise to the stanza—

“A gentleman of Wales, a Knight of Cales,  
And a laird of the North countree;  
But a yeoman of Kent with his yearly rent,  
Could buy them out all three.”

The last of the knights of Cales, Sir Robert Dudley, was knighted in the streets of Plymouth, as the Lords-General “came from the sermon.”

A third great expedition of 120 ships and 6000 soldiers, under Essex, Howard, and Raleigh, which set out in the following year against the same enemy, was dispersed at the outset by a storm and proved a failure.

Campeachy was sacked in 1596 by “Master William Parker, of Plymouth,” with two vessels and 56 men.

In July, 1595, occurred, according to Carew, the petty Spanish invasion at Mousehole, which resulted in the Spaniards occupying Penzance, and in help being sought from Plymouth, where Drake and Hawkins then lay with their fleet bound to the West Indies. By the time however that the English vessels had reached the Lizard the four Spanish gallies were clear away. It is stated that they left twenty-two chests of bulls and pardons behind them, which were burnt in the market-place at Plymouth. According

to another authority the latter event took place in 1598 or 1599. In one of those years, great apprehension of an attack from the Spaniards was felt; the roads leading to Plymouth were barricaded, and a garrison of 5000 men under the Earl of Bath placed within the town. At the same time a fortification was thrown up at Mount Edgcumbe, and a project launched for making a bridge on barges across the strait between Cremill Point and the Mount. Carew records that in 1597 an attempt was made to burn Cawsand by the crew of a Spaniard.

It is singular, if true, that Philip of Spain once landed at Plymouth, and dined with the Corporation, who expended £300 on his entertainment. Bellamy, who quotes from an old record, says that if this occurred it must have been in 1557, when Philip came over on a visit of business to the Court.\*

From various sources we gain an interesting glimpse or two of the manners and customs of seafaring Englishmen in these days. Sailors have ever been less amenable to strict discipline than soldiers; and three hundred years ago they were just as fond of bolting from their vessels and going "on the spree" as they have been ever since. Thus Sir Richard Hawkins, in the narrative of his voyage to the South Seas, tells us that before he could start, himself and his friends the justices had to spend two days in hunting up his crew in lodgings, taverns, and other houses. Sometimes the reins of discipline were held with a very tight hand. Thus while the expedition to Cadiz was in preparation two offenders were "executed a little

\* "Thousand Facts on the History of Devon and Cornwall."

without the toune, in a very fayre pleasant greene called the Ho, one for mutiny, the other for running away from his colours." A Dutchman who killed a comrade under the influence of drink was tied to the dead body and thrown overboard; and a lieutenant was, "by sound of drumme, disgraced in all the streets."

Sir Richard describes the way in which the seafarers bade farewell when they set sail. He is speaking of himself:—"I looft neere the shore to give my farewell to all the inhabitants of the Toune whereof the most part were gathered together upon the *Howe* to shew their grateful correspondency to the love and zeal which I, my Father and Predecessors, have ever borne to that place as to our naturall and mother Toune, and first with my noyse of Trumpets, after with my waytes, and then with my other Musicke, and lastly with the Artillery of my Shippes, I made the best signification I could of a kinde farewell. This they answered with the waytes of the Toune, and the Ordinance on the shore, and with shouting of voyces; which with the fayre evening and silence of the night were heard a great distance off."

There were equally earnest demonstrations when the vessels would return. A pinnacle of Raleigh's in 1586 was "received with triumphant joy, not only with the great ordinance set off, but with the willing hearts of all the people of the towne and country thereabout, and we not sparing our ordinance."

How the captains of Charles I. comported themselves when in harbour, the Puritan Yonge in his Diary\* bears

\* Published by the Camden Society.

witness. Whilst the fleet destined for Rochelle was lying in the Sound in 1628, "the General, viz., Lord Denbigh, Sir James Cogg, and others, daily drunk healths on shipboard; and the Lord Denbigh scarce fresh any day after the morning; and it's reported they shot away so much powder in one day drinking of healths as is worth £100, besides what powder is consumed other days."


There was current in the Elizabethan days the proverbial expression a "Plymouth Cloak" (*i.e.*, a staff), which an old writer explains (?) by saying—"For gentlemen landing there, if unprovided, have leisure to repair to the next Wood to cut a Staff, when they are unable to recruit themselves with Cloths."

## CHAPTER IV.

## NEW PLYMOUTH.

"Wild was the day; the wintry sea  
Moaned sadly on New England's strand,  
When first the thoughtful and the free;  
Our fathers; trod the desert land."—*Bryant.*

"Yea, when the frowning bulwarks,  
That guard this holy strand,  
Have sunk beneath the trampling surge  
In beds of sparkling sand;  
While in the waste of ocean  
One hoary rock shall stand;  
Be this its latest legend  
Here was the pilgrim's land."—*Holmes.*

"ERE mostly have the troops of adventurers made their rendezvous for attempting new discoveries and inhabitancies, as Thomas Stukeleigh for Florida, Sir Richard Grenville for Virginia, Sir Humphry Gilbert for Newfoundland, Sir Martyn Frobisher and Master Davies for the North-west Passage, Sir Walter Raleigh for Guiana."

Thus says Carew, rejoicing in the fame of the old port. And indeed, as Devonshire men were the first colonisers of the North American continent; so was Plymouth their head quarters. The first colonising expedition sailed in 1578. Sir Humphry Gilbert had obtained a patent from the Queen, authorising him to discover and settle any land in North America then uncolonised. He sailed accordingly with Sir Walter



Raleigh to Newfoundland, but returned without success. In 1583 Sir Humphry made another attempt, and this time accomplished his object, although he lost his life. His little fleet of five vessels left Cawsand Bay in June. He reached Newfoundland in the beginning of August, and took possession of the harbour of St. John, thus laying the foundation of the Newfoundland trade which for nearly two centuries flowed almost exclusively through Western channels, and brought prosperity to the ports of Devonshire. Longfellow has made the closing scenes of Sir Humphry's life familiar. He was exploring the coast in the *Squirrel*—a little vessel just ten tons burthen, when a furious storm arose, which separated her from the rest of the fleet. She was never seen afterwards; but just before the parting he was heard by the crew of the *Golden Hind* to encourage the crew on board his vessel with the brave words, "Heaven is as near by water as by land."

"Eastward from Campobello  
Sir Humphry Gilbert sailed.  
Three days or more seaward he bore,  
Then alas, the land wind failed.  
Alas, the land wind failed;  
And ice cold grew the night;  
And never more, on sea or shore,  
Should Sir Humphry see the light.  
He sat upon the deck,  
The book was in his hand,  
'Do not fear, heaven is as near,'  
He said, 'by water as by land.'"

The discovery and first settlement of Virginia were the work of Sir Walter Raleigh, with whom his famous

friend Sir Richard Grenville was associated. In April, 1584, Raleigh equipped his first expedition. It consisted of two vessels ; and he discovered a tract of country to which he gave the name Virginia, in honour of the Queen. He did not however then plant a settlement. In the following year an expedition consisting of seven ships, the biggest being the *Tiger* and *Roebuck* of 140 tons, and 600 men, left Plymouth, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville for that purpose. The young colony soon came to grief, and in 1586 the remnant of the settlers was brought home by the ships of Drake's expedition to the South Seas. In 1587 Raleigh fitted out two other expeditions, one of three ships, and the other of one, with the same purpose, but eventually with no better success. In 1595 he set sail from Plymouth upon his voyage to Guiana, which had no other result than his taking formal possession of the country in the name of the Queen. It was from Plymouth too that he departed on his last unfortunate expedition after the golden city of Manoa. He sailed in March, 1617, with twelve ships ; and returned to the port in July, 1618. He was taken into custody at his ancestral seat, Fardel House, Cornwood, by his cousin, Vice-Admiral Sir Lewis Stukely, and removed to London, where in the October following he was beheaded.

The plantation of Florida undertaken by Thomas Stukely, proved a failure, it is said for want of money. Stukely, who was a North Devon man, was not fitted for the work. He was more than a little mad. "He blushed not to tell Queen Elizabeth that he preferred rather to be sovereign of a molehill, than the highest

subject to the greatest king in Christendom, and that he was assured he should be a prince before his death." "I hope," said the Queen, "I shall hear from you when you are settled in your principality." "I will write unto you," quoth Stukely. "In what language?" said the Queen. He returned, "In the style of Princes, to our dear sister." Stukely committed the unpardonable sin of those days, went over to the Pope, and died at Alcasar in Africa, fighting bravely by the side of King Sebastian in 1578.

The 16th century thus passed over without any permanent settlement being effected by the English in North America, whilst the connection with Newfoundland was of a casual character. The merchants and adventurers used to resort thither in the spring, lay up their ships, pursue the fishery until the season was ended, and then return to their homes on the approach of winter. The formation of a regular settlement was considered objectionable on the ground that it would interfere with the fishery.

Early in the 17th century more important agencies were set to work. The early colonisers had commonly been assisted by their friends, who clubbed their means together to fit out the little fleet, and make their trading ventures. At length the organisations became of a more defined and settled character. In 1606 King James, after the monopolising fashion of the period, placed the colonisation of North America under control, granting charters to two companies of merchants and others, which conferred upon them the exclusive right of settling Virginia, as the whole of the country between Florida and Canada was then

called. One of these associations consisted chiefly of London merchants, hence called the London Company; the other was constituted of merchants of Plymouth, Exeter, and Bristol, and—Plymouth taking the lead—was called the Plymouth Company.

The charter of James was dated the 10th April, 1606,\* and gave to the London Company the right of planting a colony between the degrees of 34 and 41 north latitude, its territory to extend from the place of settlement fifty miles on either side, and 100 miles back from the sea coast. The Plymouth Company consisted of Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, Esquires, and all others who should be joined to them; and upon them was conferred the right of planting a colony of the same size as the first, anywhere between the degrees of 38 and 45 north latitude. The two colonies were not, however, to come within 100 miles of each other. The London Company got the start, the foundations of Jamestown being laid in the same year. Mr. Henry Challons, in May 1607, sailed in the ship *Richard* of Plymouth for New England, but without success. The first spot attempted by the Plymouth Company was at the mouth of the Kennebec. In 1620 the company obtained a new charter, which comprehended all the land from sea to sea between the 40th and 48th degrees of north latitude, under the style and title of "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in

\* Elizabeth had chartered a company of west country merchants to trade with Guinea in 1588.

America." Not long afterwards the first settlements were planted in Maine by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason, members of the Council of Plymouth, who had obtained in 1622 a grant of the country lying between the rivers Merrimac and Kennebec. In 1628 the colony of Massachusetts was established under grant from the Plymouth Company; and in 1631 two merchants of Plymouth, having obtained powers over the peninsula on which Portland now stands, erected a trading house on an island near Portland harbour, and promoted the settlement of the neighbouring coast. The career of the Plymouth Company was not a long one. The New England colonies were mostly formed by men of the Puritan stamp; earnest-hearted, large-souled people, between whom and the despotism then prevailing in England there could be no sympathy; and so in 1635 the Company had to surrender its charter. But by that time its work was done; and under its auspices the fair tree which was to bear the fruit of civil and religious liberty had been firmly planted in American soil.

In the New England patent reference is made to a plague which had almost swept away the whole of the Indians of Maine and Massachusetts; whereon the King observes, "We in our judgment are persuaded and satisfied that the appointed time is come in which Almighty God, in His great goodness and bounty towards us and our people, hath thought fit and determined that those large and goodly territories, deserted as it were by their natural inhabitants, should be possessed and enjoyed by such of our sub-

jects and people as shall by His mercy and favour, and by His powerful arm, be directed and conducted thither." While these words were being penned their prediction was being accomplished in a manner that none could have foreseen.

In the year 1608 a small body of Puritans had expatriated themselves for conscience sake, and settled at Leyden. After a residence there of eleven years they determined to seek a home on the shores of the New World, and by the aid of certain English merchants—men of business who looked at the matter from a strictly business point of view—they obtained powers to effect a settlement at the mouth of the Hudson. These men were the Pilgrim Fathers. They chartered two vessels, one the ever-memorable *Mayflower*, of 180 tons, and the other the ill-speeding *Speedwell*, of 60.

Bancroft thus describes the parting of the pilgrim pioneers at Delfthaven from their friends who were to follow, and their subsequent proceedings, ere they finally set sail for their destination:—"As morning dawned Carver, Bradford, and Winslow, Brewster, the ruling elder, Allerton and the brave and faithful Standish, with their equal associates—a feeble band for a perilous enterprise—bade farewell to Holland ; while Robinson kneeling in prayer by the sea side, gave to their embarkation the sanctity of a religious rite. A prosperous wind soon wafts the vessel to Southampton, and in a fortnight the *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell*, freighted with the first colony for New England, leave Southampton for America. But they had not gone far upon the Atlantic before the smaller vessel was

found to need repair, and they enter the port of Dartmouth. After the lapse of eight precious days they again weigh anchor; the coast of England recedes; already they are unfurling their sails on the broad ocean, when the captain of the *Speedwell* with his company, dismayed at the dangers of the enterprise, once more pretend that his ship is too weak for the service. They put back to Plymouth to dismiss their treacherous companions, though the loss of the vessel was very grievous and discouraging. The timid and the hesitating were all freely allowed to abandon the expedition. Having thus winnowed their number of the cowardly and disaffected, the little band, not of resolute men only, but wives, some far gone in pregnancy, children, infants, a floating village, yet in all but 101 souls, went on board the single ship which was hired only to convey them across the Atlantic; and on the 6th day of September, 1620, thirteen years after the first civilization of Virginia, two months before the concession of the grand charter of Plymouth, without any warrant from the sovereign of England, without any useful charter from a corporate body, the passengers in the *Mayflower* set sail for a New World."

The destination for which the Pilgrims sailed they were providentially fated never to reach. Whether by stress of storm, or whether by the treachery of their captain, none can now tell, they were carried to a point far north of the Hudson, in the centre of the depopulated territory of New England; and there, without patent or authority, without any other rights than their necessities, they built a town and lovingly

called it Plymouth. Dear to them was the last spot of the mother country which their wandering feet had trod, dear to them if for that alone, but dearer still for the many kindnesses they had received from certain Christians there, having been "kindly entertained and courteously used by divers friends there dwelling." They planted the first settlement on the coast of New England; they drew up the earliest American constitution, by which before they left the *Mayflower* (Nov. 11th), they constituted themselves a civil body politic.

Thus the first attempts to settle what is now the great Republic of the West were made by Devonshire men, sailing out of Plymouth Sound. Thus the first germs of that great nation are traceable to Western adventurers, or Western ports. But there is a drawback to one's natural pride. It was a Plymouth man who indirectly led to the introduction in the infant community of the curse of slavery, which in time to come was to imperil the very existence of the State. If we trace back the American civil war to its original cause, we shall find it in the unhappy voyage of Sir John Hawkins to the coast of Guinea in 1562.



## CHAPTER V.

## THE SIEGE.

"A fortress formed to Freedom's hands.  
\* \* \* \* \*  
And there the volleying thunders pour,  
Till waves grow smoother at the roar.  
The trench is dug, the cannon's breath  
Wings the far-hissing globe of death ;  
Fast whirl the fragments from the wall,  
Which crumbles with the ponderous ball ;  
And from that wall the foe replies  
O'er dusty hills and smoky skies,  
With fires that answer fast and well."—*Byron.*

**P**LYMOUTH retained its warlike character during the reigns of the first James and his successor. Indeed it acquired special distinction during the troubles of the Civil War. But before dealing with the events of that epoch, a few prior in time require some reference. In 1620, a fleet sailed to Algiers under Sir Richard Hawkins. Five years later (September, 1625), Charles and his queen visited the town with their whole court. They remained ten days, attending service in St. Andrew Church, and were superbly entertained. During their stay, 10,000 soldiers (some accounts say 6000) were embarked in 100 ships for an expedition against Spain, which terminated in "disgrace and disappointment."

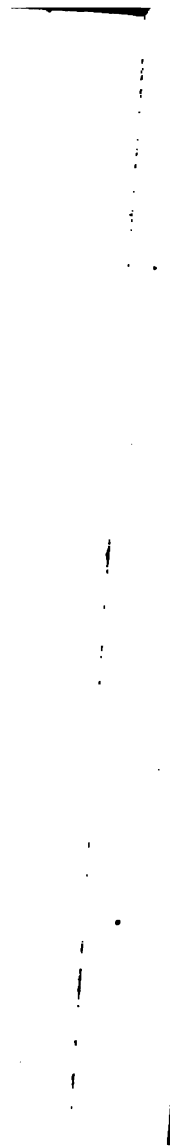
Equally unsuccessful was the Duke of Buckingham's expedition for the relief of Rochelle, which sailed April 26th, 1628, and consisted in all of 60 vessels, 23 being volunteers.

Plymouth enjoys the distinction of being the only town in the West of England that remained true throughout the whole of the wars between Charles and his Parliament to the cause it at first espoused. The townsfolk were strongly Puritan. They were people of tried courage, and accustomed to adventure. When "civil dudgeon first grew high" there yet remained among them many "grave and reverend seniors" who had taken part in the great deeds which made the port so famous in the reign of Elizabeth. The younger generation were animated by the same spirit that had won fame for their forefathers. About the earliest indication of their Puritanical leanings is connected with the facts recorded in the last chapter. The Parliament had no sooner taken the field than Plymouth declared in its favour.\* The importance of the town and of its harbour caused the Royalists to make several attempts at its reduction. None succeeded. One by one the other strongholds of the popular party in the West fell

\* In March, 1642, as appears by a scarce tract entitled "The Protestation taken by the Commissioners of Cornwall and Devon, at Stone House, neare Plymouth," negotiations were entered into for the settlement of terms of peace between the two Counties. These negotiations commenced on the 5th of March, they were then adjourned, and at the date of the tract stood again adjourned to Mount Edgcumbe. The result was a treaty of neutrality between the counties. This remained in force during the winter, and was then set aside by the authority of Parliament.

before the forces of the king ; but Plymouth remained faithful to its trust until the end. Even after the surrender of Essex's army in Cornwall, it rejected the overtures of Charles in person. For four years it was exposed to continual assaults ; for many months it was subjected to a close blockade : yet the courage of the garrison and the constancy of the townsfolk seem never to have been shaken. Their spirits rose the higher when reverses overtook them, as occasionally they did.

There are extant a number of letters and reports relating to this important period in the history of the town, addressed by the governors and by prominent citizens to the Houses of Parliament, or friends in London, and thereafter published, from which a fair if not full idea of the siege, or rather sieges, may be gleaned. To one—the most important of these—“ A true Narrative of the most observable Passages in and at the late Siege of Plymouth, from the 15th of September, 1643, till the 25th of December following,” a map is attached showing the fortifications of the town, with the works and approaches of the enemy. The town appears to have been fortified with considerable skill, and in a manner that might reasonably be expected to defy the light artillery then in use ; although the works would not have been tenable for an hour against the modern means of attack. Naturally also, the place was more defensible then than now. Seaward no alteration worth noting has taken place ; but landward the aspect of the locality has greatly changed. The waters of Millbay flowed up to what is now King Street, and were of such a depth



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as to be used for trading purposes at their northern extremity.\* Stonehouse Creek extended nearly half-a-mile farther west than at present, and the Laira flowed over land from which it is now kept by the works of the Embankment Company, up to Lipson. Thus the peninsula upon which Plymouth and Stonehouse stand was all but surrounded by a natural moat, whilst the waters of Surpool (Millbay) formed a strong barrier between the towns themselves, then rival in feeling though not in importance.† Moreover where the water boundary failed, between Lipson and Pennycomequick, the natural line of defence was continued as now by the deep depression which unites the heads of the two creeks, and the highest point of which at Mutley is considerably below the level of the adjoining heights, North Hill and Mannamead. Along the brow of the hills overlooking this natural fosse the principal works of defence were erected. They consisted of five redoubts joined by a rampart and trench, and extending from Eldad to Lipson. The first redoubt westward, New Work, was at Eldad; the second was at Pennycomequick; the third, Mawdlyn, or Magdalen, at North Hill; the fourth, Holiwell, near the site which the prisons and work-house now occupy; and the fifth was above Lipson. There was a detached work at Stonehouse on or near

\* Anchors and other remains of a like character have been dug up in and near the Octagon, the site of which was still covered with water sufficient to carry ships of some burthen at the beginning of the last century.

† Stonehouse dates back only to the reign of Henry VIII., when a village sprang up around the castellated mansion of the Stonehouse family, long the lords of the manor.

the present Battery Hill, and one by Lipson Mill. All these were of triangular outline. Other redoubts were at Laira Point, at Prince Rock, and at Cattedown. Then there was the "great fort" on the Hoe; and the inner line of defence formed by the walls of the town, with its forts—Maidenhead, Resolution, Terror, Charles, St. George, and Frankfort. Drake's Island was fortified; and a very important work stood on the other side of Cattewater—Fort Stamford—erected to command the harbour and to secure its free use, against which the enemy's occupation of these heights would necessarily militate.

Such briefly in their most complete state were the fortifications of Plymouth, which were erected from time to time, as necessity prompted, in the middle of the seventeenth century. At the time of the siege of 1643 the Royalists held all the villages in the neighbourhood, and had batteries at Mount Batten and Mount Edgcumbe; with detached redoubts extending from Pennycomequick to Lipson, along the face of the slopes, opposite those of the besieged.\*

Soon after the commencement of hostilities, Colonel Ruthven† was appointed governor of the town, Sir Alexander Carew having the command of the fort and island. The first attempt to take the place was

\* On the 15th November, 1643, the Parliament passed an ordinance for the payment of a tenth part more of customs and subsidies for the defence of the town and port of Plymouth, the island of St. Nicholas, and the towns of Poole and Lyme.

† Ruthven, a Scotchman, was commander at the celebrated battle of Bradock Down, on the 19th of January, 1643; after which he retreated on Saltash. This town in its turn had to yield to the victorious Royalists, who took it by assault, Ruthven escaping down the Tamar.

made in December, 1642, by Sir Ralph Hopton. Col. Ruthven found that Plympton could not be held against the opposing forces, and retired upon Plymouth, whilst the Cavaliers took possession of the former place. Upon the 1st of December the garrison "stood upon the Laira for the space of three hours facing the enemy, who attempted one charge to have drawn us to their ambuscades, but durst not with all their force, which we judge was at least 2,500 horse and foot, give in a charge upon fair ground." The Royalists then fell back upon Modbury, where they were reinforced, but on the 7th were utterly routed by Ruthven, who with four troops of horse and one hundred dragoons marched from Plymouth at three o'clock in the morning, taking a circuitous course over Roborough Down, and falling upon the enemy unawares. This exploit relieved the town from attack for several months; but in the September following it narrowly escaped a great danger from within. It was discovered that Sir Alexander Carew had plotted to betray his trust; and he was sent to London, where he was beheaded on Tower Hill as a traitor.

In the previous month Col. Digby had appeared before Plymouth with a regiment of foot and a large party of horse. He took up his head-quarters at Plymstock, and with his horse so scoured the country that for six weeks no provision could be brought in. The garrison being exceedingly weak, 600 men under Colonel Wardlaw and Colonel Gould were sent from Portsmouth to its relief. Nine days after their arrival, the 8th of October, a detachment of 300 men were sent across Cattewater in boats, by whom Digby's



guard at Hooe was assailed and dispersed with heavy loss. This success did not prove of much value. Prince Maurice had in the meantime taken Dartmouth, and with his whole forces soon invested Plymouth, so that Plympton, Plymstock, Cawsand, Buckland, Tamerton, and the other adjacent villages, were all occupied by the king's troops, who numbered five regiments of horse and nine regiments of foot. Widey was their head-quarters. The Cavaliers first attempted Mount Stamford. They brought thirteen fishing boats overland from the river Yealm to Pomphlet, which led the garrison to believe that an attack was contemplated upon Cattedown. Such, however, was not the design. In the night of the 21st October the besiegers raised a small work within pistol shot of Fort Stamford, and from it commenced regular approaches. This opened the eyes of the garrison, who the next day after three hours' desperate fighting took the work, making fifty prisoners, and putting in it a guard of thirty musketeers under an ensign. The same night all their labours were undone. The enemy fell on, and the guard quitted the work without giving an alarm to the fort. This was looked upon as an act either of treachery or of cowardice, and accordingly the ensign was shot. The garrison then made another attack, and after a much harder struggle than that of the previous day again drove the Cavaliers out, the business "being done principally by the poore little boys which came with Colonel Gould, which arre not in all above 400." The loss was heavy—that of the garrison being twenty men killed and 100 wounded, including four captains; and that of the besiegers

"six commanders of rank and many men." The work was then destroyed, and various defences added to the fort. Daily fresh conflicts took place. "The enemy lye thereabout under hedges, and with long fowling pieces can watch our men." On the 3rd of November the Royalists planted their batteries within pistol shot of the fort, and on the 5th of November battered the works with 200 demi-cannon and whole culverin shot, besides other smaller cannon, "that continually played upon us, and flanked our line from Osan\* Hill, whereby a breach was made in the fort at several places, and the lieutenant and some gunners of the fort slaine." The next day the battering was continued with too much success until noon, when a general assault was made. Tired by eight days' duty and long watching, after an hour's skirmishing the guard were forced to fall back on the half-moons and breastwork, where they were taken by the enemy's horse. By this time there were only seven able men left in the fort out of thirty-six, with but two barrels of powder, and no provisions. No reinforcements arriving, its captain therefore surrendered on condition that he should march out with all the honours of war, and that the prisoners should be exchanged. At first the garrison retreated only to Mount Batten (then called Haw Start), where they began to throw up earthworks. However, as the townsmen refused to go over for fear of the enemy's horse, that position also had to be given up, and was speedily fortified by the Cavaliers.

\* Oreston, which in popular parlance is still pronounced as here spelt.

The Royalists now thought the game was theirs, and summoned the town to surrender:—"That you may see our hearty desires of a just peace, we do summon you in His Majesty's name to surrender the town, fort, and island of Plymouth, with the warlike provisions thereunto belonging, into our hands for His Majesty's use; and we do hereby assure you upon the power devised to us from His Majesty upon the performance of a general pardon for what is past; and engage ourselves upon our honour to secure your persons and estate from all violence and plunder. We have now acquitted ourselves on our parts, and let the blood that shall be spilt in the obtaining of these just demands (if denied by you) be your guilt. Given under our hands at Mount Stamford, the 18th day of November, A.D. 1643. John Digby, Thomas Bassett, Peter Killigrew, John Wagstaffe, J. Treleany, R. Prideaux, John Arundell, Thomas Marke, William Arundell, John Downing, Thomas Stucley."

The townsfolk had a day of humiliation, and replied to the summons by taking the following vow and protestation:—"In the presence of Almighty God, I do vow and protest that I will to the utmost of my power faithfully maintain and defend the towns of Plymouth and Stonehouse, the fort and island, with all the outworks and fortifications to the same belonging, against all forces now raised against the said town, fort, and island, or any part thereof; or that shall be raised by any power or authority whatsoever, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament. Neither will I by any way or means whatsoever contrive or consent to the giving up of

the said towns and fortifications aforesaid, or any parcel of them, into the hands of any person or persons whatsoever, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, or of such as are authorised thereunto by them. Neither will I raise or consent to the raising of any force or tumult, nor will I by any way or means give or yield to the giving any advice, counsel, or intelligence to the prejudice of the said town and fortifications, either in whole or in part, but will with all faith fully discover to the Mayor of Plymouth, and to the Commander-in-chief there, whatsoever design I shall know or hear of hurtful thereunto. Neither have I accepted any pardon or protection, nor will I accept any protection from the enemy. And this vow and protestation I make without any equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever, believing that I cannot be absolved from this my vow and protestation, and wishing no blessing from God on myself or my posterity if I do not sincerely and truly perform the same. So help me God." The chief officers of the besieged at this time were—Colonel Gould, Lieut.-Colonel Serle, Sergeant-Major Willis, Captains Hallsey, Bertch, Bownes, Wilton, Plumley, Hill, Hughes, Northcote, Potter, and Barton.

The ordnance of these days not being very formidable, the works of the besiegers at Fort Stamford and Haw Start did little damage; and the besieged found in the loss of those positions a proof of the "wonderful providence and goodness of God." If they had kept the fort they must have lost the greater part of their strength in its defence; besides which the enemy had batteries at Oreston and Mount Edg-

cumbe which compelled the ships to resort to Millbay. Moreover the reverse stimulated the governor, Col. Wardlaw, to seize upon Hoe Fort and the island of St. Nicholas, "the most considerable strength in the kingdom," which were then utterly destitute of provisions and ammunition.

The town was now menaced from the north. Earthworks were thrown up by both sides ; but little was effected until treachery intervened. Ellis Carteret, a "malignant mariner," tried to persuade Roger Kemborn, the chief gunner of Mawdlyn work, to blow it up. He was apprehended on Kemborn's information ; and thereupon two of his associates, Henry Pike, vintner, and Moses Collins, attorney, fled to the enemy. Guided by these renegadoes, the Cavaliers, early in the morning of Sunday the 3rd December, surprised the guard at Laira Point, taking it in the rear. At daybreak the garrison despatched 150 horse and 300 musketeers against them. The preparations were unfortunately seen by the party quartered at Fort Stamford, who fired a warning piece. Prince Maurice and all "the gallantry of his army," five regiments of horse and four of foot, immediately advanced under cover of their batteries, the attack becoming general. However able to cope with the party at Laira Point, the men who made the sortie were now hopelessly outnumbered. They were driven back, and so thoroughly routed, that many of the attacking horsemen got within pistol shot of the walls, and were killed or taken. At length the Round-heads rallied on the highest point of Freedom Fields, immediately above Lipson fort. Here they held their

ground until they were reinforced by two hundred of the train-band and sixty musketeers, with a small cannon—a drake; and then reassuming the offensive, in turn routed their assailants. The retreat of the latter was so speedy, that about one hundred of them were either drowned or taken in attempting to cross the mud of the creek at Laira Point. To this result certain ships belonging to the garrison contributed. Whilst the fight was onward they had been neutral, “for which some stood in question for their life;” but as soon as the retreat was manifest, they had “grown honest” again. An assault upon Pennycomequick Work on the same day was also repulsed; and for this double success the garrison had a day of thanksgiving.

Other attacks proved equally fruitless, and on Christmas day, when Prince Maurice had promised his troops they should be in Plymouth, the siege was raised.

A remarkable incident of this section of the siege, was the fact that after victuals had become very scarce, “there came an infinite multitude of pilchards into the harbour within the Barbican, which the people took up with great ease in baskets.” Record is made of the humanity of the good women of Plymouth, and “their courage in bringing out strong waters and all sorts of provisions in the midst of all our skirmishes and fights, for the refreshing of our soldiers, though many women were shot through the clothes.”

In the following February the town was again invested. The Royalists were once more concentrated at Modbury; and the Parliamentary forces of Devon-

shire rendezvoused at Kingsbridge, for the purpose of attacking them. The Cavaliers, under Hopton, occupied an entrenched camp. The assault was led by the Bideford and Barnstaple contingent, who arrived on the ground first. Hopton was defeated, and 1,000 stand of arms taken. As a consequence the siege was again raised, the Cavaliers being forced to "flee with such hast, as they have left three great guns behind them and some powder." Hopton's headquarters at this time appear to have been at Saltash. A Newcastle ship had been hired to "batter him" at that place, but the master had betrayed his trust.

Though the siege had for a time come to an end, it was felt that danger was not over, and the fortifications of the town were carefully repaired. Nothing however transpired of sufficient consequence to be communicated to the Parliament until the death of Col. Gould, "the commanders being more desirous to serve their God and country than to gaggle like hens on the laying of every egge." The Mayor, Col. Crocker, and Lieutenant-Colonel Martin, upon the death of Colonel Gould, were associated in the command. About the middle of April, 1644, Sir Richard Grenville advanced against the town with a considerable force. A strong party of his men—500 or 600—were defeated on the 16th in an encounter at St. Budeaux. The fight was a stout one, the Cavaliers ensconcing themselves in the tower of the church, which was forced, and 44 of them taken prisoners. Three days afterwards another engagement took place at Newbridge, but without much advantage on either side. Grenville did not advance again until July, when he was once

more repulsed. In the same month Colonel Kerr was made governor of the town.

Grenville had been at one time a favourer of the Parliament, and had indeed been asked to take the command of Plymouth, and his subsequent activity for the king caused him to be bitterly hated by the Roundheads. "Skellum Grenville" and "Renegado Grenville" were about the mildest epithets applied to him by the defenders of Plymouth.

In "A continuation of the true Narration of the most observable Passages in and about the Siege of Plymouth," dated April 25, 1644, we find it recorded that Grenville caused one of two prisoners taken to hang the other, he meantime sitting by on horseback "beholding the spectacle." He sent a letter from Fitzford to the garrison on the 18th of March excusing and accounting for his having forsaken the cause of the Parliament, and pleading with them to make peace by surrender. This received a contemptuous rejoinder, and a book which he had enclosed, the "Iniquity of the Covenant," was burnt by the hangman in the market-place.

About this time a "feminine malignant" was committed to the castle; the charges against her being that she had sent clothes to Collins the renegade, that she had betrayed what store of powder there was, that she had incited the enemy to assault, that she had invited the Cavalier-Major Harris to stay at her house when the town was taken, and that she had declared the Protestant religion in Plymouth to be decaying. There was another "virago," but she was allowed to "sleep for a while" that her shame might be the heavier.



From a "Relation of the great Victories and Successes of the Garrison of Plymouth, since the last accounts," printed in June, 1644, and dated May 16th, in the same year, we gather that the town continued to be harassed by the Cavaliers in spite of their defeat at St. Budeaux. They occupied most of the villages in the neighbourhood; and there is a record of a sortie on the 11th May, upon a strong party of Cavaliers who lay at Jump, then called "*the* Jump," or "Trenaman's Jump." The garrison sent out a body of 1000 foot and 100 horse, and a fierce fight ensued. The attacking party won the day, with the loss of only one man. Emboldened by their success, on the fifteenth of the same month Col. Martin conducted an expedition across the old Cremill ferry to Mount Edgcumbe. Maker Church tower was assaulted and taken, and therein a barrel of powder. Cawsand and Millbrook were also successfully attempted; and on their way back with the captured booty a portion of the party attacked Mount Edgcumbe House. They burnt the banqueting-hall and the out-offices; but the body of the mansion being built of stone, was too strong to be taken by a *coup de main*. Moreover, time pressed. The Cavaliers at Saltash and other places on the Cornish side of the Tamar were pressing forward in force; and Col. Martin wisely considered that he had done enough for the day.

Prince Maurice made another attack upon the town early in July, but being again unsuccessful once more drew off, and left the blockade in the hands of Grenville with 3000 men. It did not last long. The advance of the Earl of Essex with his army about

the middle of the month caused Grenville to withdraw his forces, and Fort Stamford falling into the hands of the Parliamentary commanders, the Royalists lost the only fruit of their attempts to take the town, which had now continued for over a year and a half.

But the relief was of short duration. Essex, reinforced by 3000 of the garrison, marched on into Cornwall—Grenville retiring before him—took possession of Launceston and Saltash, and pressed his advance forward to Bodmin, Lostwithiel and Fowey. Here he lay, with his head quarters at Lanhydrock, when the king, after some encounters in conjunction with Grenville, hemmed him in. Essex's horse under Sir William Balfour escaped; himself with Lord Robartes and some other officers took ship at Fowey for Plymouth; the foot under Skippon were compelled to surrender. Thus was the West of England all but left at the mercy of the Royalists.

Essex's forces surrendered on the 1st of September. On the 6th, Charles appeared before Plymouth in person, attended by Prince Maurice. The head quarters of the king were at Widey, and his chief efforts were directed against the principal fort of the northern defences—Mawdlyn; whilst the Prince lay at Lipson. Failing in their attempts to make force serve their turn, the besiegers tried persuasion; but Lord Robartes, who was then the governor, stoutly refused to surrender. The king left his quarters before Plymouth on the 14th September, and once more was a blockade substituted for the siege.

When the siege was raised, Prince Maurice as a

parting shot issued the following proclamation to the constables of the adjoining parishes:—"Forasmuch as divers persons, disaffected to his majesty, make their daily recourse into Plymouth, furnishing the rebels there with all manner of provision for man and horse, contrary to his majesty's proclamation prohibiting the same; these are therefore to signify that if any person, of what degree or quality, do ever presume to have any commerce or dealing with any in the said town, or take or carry with him any horses, oxen, kine, or sheep, or other provision for man or horse, into the said town of Plymouth, for the relief of the rebels there; every such person and persons shall be proceeded against to their person and estate, as abettors of this horrid rebellion, and contemners of his majesty's proclamation, according to the limitation of the Court of Wards in such cases provided. Willing and requiring all mayors, justices of the peace, bailiffs, constables, and all others of his majesty's officers and ministers, to cause this to be forthwith published in all churches, chapels, markets, or other places, whereby his majesty's loving subjects may the better take notice hereof."

In the January following Grenville, to whom the conduct of the blockade had been entrusted, made a desperate assault with a force of 6,000 men. He succeeded in taking the great outworks—Lipson, Holiwell, Mawdlyn, and Pennycomequick Forts; but the garrison rallying, drove the Cavaliers out again with great loss. Grenville then turned his attention to Fort Stamford, which had not been reoccupied by the garrison since its "slighting" after the

advance of Essex. In the night of the 17th February his troops, much to the surprise of the other side, raised a breastwork of faggots twelve feet thick, intending to finish the work the next night. About noon, however, on the 18th a strong party of horse and foot (the latter mostly seameh) were taken across Cattewater to Mount Batten, where the Roundheads then had a redoubt; whilst the Cavaliers were drawn away by strategy towards Pennycomequick. An attack was then made—60 guns from the ships and forts meantime “beating up the dust about the Cavies’ ears”—which resulted in the capture of the new work, with 12 officers and 92 soldiers, “300 armes, good store of mattocks, shovels, and faggots.” We learn that only one of the attacking party was slain, and that by accident.

In May the town petitioned to have Lord Robartes continued governor. This was refused (the self-denying ordinance was then in force), and it was ordered that five of the principal persons of the town and neighbourhood should be joined in the government, and that Colonel Kerr should have the military command. In June Grenville was removed from the conduct of the blockade, which was then entrusted to Sir John Berkeley; the latter being succeeded in September by General Digby. In the following month Colonel Welder was made governor of the town. After this period the siege operations were prosecuted very languidly. The Royalist cause was lost; and even in the West the tide had turned. The first days of January, 1646, were signalized by the capture of Kinterbury fort in a sortie by the garrison;

and on the 18th of that month the blockade was finally raised.

The Royalist retreat was hastened by the march of Fairfax from Exeter to Totnes; and they decamped in such a hurry that they left "guns, armes, and ammunition behind them." Plymouth at this time had 2,500 men in the garrison, besides the train-band of the town. Among the former were many Dartmouth men,\*and Fairfax when he took the latter place drew 500 men from Plymouth to keep it.

The Corporation records contain several entries of payments for digging graves for soldiers. Early in the siege 29 are charged £1 5s. 6d.; later 32 are provided for 16s. In the register of St. Andrew the king's party are distinguished by the word Cavalier. Mr. Woollcombe\* remarks that very few traditions of the siege have been handed down. The only one which he notes is that an ancestor of the Collier family was among the slain.

Relics of the siege have frequently been discovered. In levelling a bank at Mutley Farm, the property of the Rev. C. Trelawny, in 1853, the labourers found a broken cannon and a sword. This was just opposite Mawdlyn. In 1855 a quantity of human bones was found at the head of Old Town Street, near the site of Old Town Gate, by workmen employed in laying water-pipes. It is presumed that these were the remains of men killed in the siege, and buried where they fell. In excavating at Stamford and on the sites of others of the forts cannon balls and bullets have often been exhumed.

\* MS. History of Plymouth preserved at the Athenæum.

## CHAPTER VI.

## TWO CENTURIES OF DEVELOPMENT.

"How oft by Fancy led,  
Sweet Plym, at morn or eve, I stray with thee:  
But chief at shadowy eve I linger where  
The ocean weds thee, and delighted view,  
Proud rising o'er the vast Atlantic surge,  
Thine own,—thy Plymouth,—nurse of heroes—her  
'Who bears thy noble name.'

"The azure Sound,  
The reservoir of rivers. Silvery bays  
Are seen where commerce lifts the peaceful sail,  
Or where the war-barks rise; the indented coast  
Frowns with wave-breasting rocks, nor does the eye  
Forget the proud display of bustling towns,  
And busy arsenals, and cliffs high-crowned  
With pealing batteries and flags that wave  
In the fresh ocean gale."—*Carrington*.

**T**HE history of Plymouth during the past two centuries is not marked by such an intimate connection with the general history of the country as distinguished the two which preceded. There is no defeat of an Armada, no siege, to chronicle. The period was by no means barren of important events, but their importance was more of a local character. The development of the capabilities of the port and of the resources of the community chiefly occupied the interval between 1670 and 1870. Nevertheless we find the name of Plymouth inextricably interwoven, first with the naval and then with the commercial interests of the nation. It is a remarkable fact that the characteristics of the

town have completely changed twice over since the reign of Charles II. Under that monarch and his successor Plymouth was purely commercial. The foundation of the Dockyard under William III. introduced a permanent warlike element, which a century later had almost extinguished the pacific. The gradual separation of the interests of Plymouth Dock, now Devonport, from those of Plymouth, and the conclusion of peace after the Napoleonic struggle, again led to the rise of trade. And now we have the parent town engaged in and flourishing by commerce; and the daughter maintained by the preparation for and practice of the arts of war.

There is, however, one prominent point of connection with the general history of the country to be noted, of which Plymouthians may well be proud. The borough was the first in the kingdom to declare for William of Orange. The fleet which brought him and his gallant followers to Torbay sailed thence round to Plymouth, and wintered in Cattewater.

Up to that period the port was not in the strict sense of the term a naval arsenal. It was rather a shipping station—a rendezvous, where fleets used to gather, and whence they used to sally. It was however one of the principal stations for naval prizes, as the records of the Privy Council, especially during the reign of Charles II., abundantly prove. There was so much embezzling of prize goods (which paid the same duties as goods belonging to Englishmen) that at length a commission of enquiry was issued, of which Sir Edward Wise was chief. The prize-office establishment at Plymouth during this reign was

somewhat extensive. There was a clerk at £150 a year, a clerk and examiner at £60, a surveyor at £60, a housekeeper at £40, and a messenger at £25.

Naval yards had been established for nearly 200 years at Woolwich and Deptford, and Portsmouth and Chatham were considerably more than a century old, before that at Devonport was formed. Mr. Woollcombe records a tradition that "an establishment somewhat of the description of a dockyard on a small scale existed in two parts of Cattewater—one at Turnchapel, and the other at Teat's Hill." They would however seem to have been used for repairs only. Charles II., by whose direction the yard at Sheerness was formed, intended to organize a similar establishment at Plymouth. Eight views and plans of the town were published in 1677, the probable object of which, in Mr. Woollcombe's view, was "to point out how much more desirable the situation of Hamoaze was for such an establishment than Cattewater." In the same year Charles visited Plymouth with the object of inquiring into this very question. Nothing, however, was done until William III. occupied the throne. Plans were prepared in 1689, and then "we learn that the Dock in Hamoaze was begun on the 2nd of September, 1691." Before the formation of the establishment the locality was called Point Froward, and advantage was taken of a natural inlet in the construction of the first basin and dock. Up to 1698, when a plan of the works was included in a survey of the Dockyards of England now in the British Museum, £67,095 6s. had been expended. At first no dwellings were erected on the

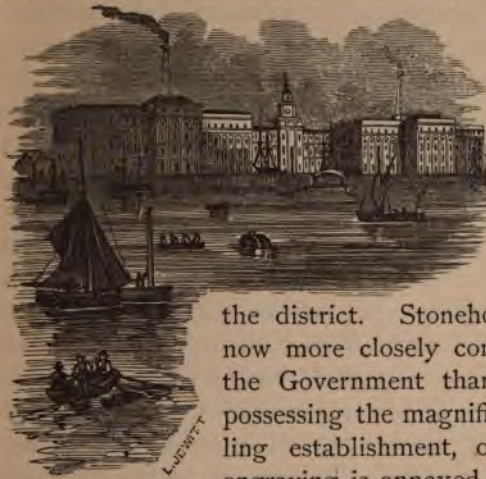


spot, and the artificers either resided on board a ship fitted for the purpose, or in Plymouth. A few years later the erection of Dock commenced. "The new establishment was regarded with great jealousy by the inhabitants of the old town, as removing to a distance from them the benefits of the building and repairing of the King's ships." Nevertheless Dock thrived. By the time its jubilee was reached it was half the size of its ancient neighbour. Before another half century passed it was quite as populous; and at the time of the first census, in the year 1800, so great had been the impulse given to the arts of war over those of peace by the long years of conflict with France, that whilst the inhabitants of Plymouth numbered 16,040 those of Devonport had mounted to 23,747. In 1820 the disparity was still greater, Devonport having 33,578 inhabitants against Plymouth's 21,591. But when war had ceased and commerce had fairly revived, the tables were soon turned. By the year 1835 the numbers were once more equal, and in 1841 Plymouth was found to have obtained a lead, which she has ever since increased.\*

Prior to the foundation of Dock, Plymouth was of course the seat of the various local government establishments. As there were dockyards at Plymouth previous to that at Devonport; so there were ordnance storehouses at Plymouth many years before the present Gunwharf at Devonport was constructed; and a Victualling Office, a century and a half older than that at Stonehouse. The storehouses were erected *in*

\* For further information concerning Devonport see the author's history of that town.

Sutton Pool at Coxside, on land which being part of the foreshore belonged to the duchy. The Victualling Office still remains below Lambhay Hill ; and is now



used as the Emigration depôt. Devonport has long been the naval and military headquarters of

the district. Stonehouse even is now more closely connected with the Government than Plymouth, possessing the magnificent victualling establishment, of which an engraving is annexed, with a hospital and extensive marine barracks.

From the time of the formation of the Dockyard until now, the port of Plymouth has continued the chief naval station of the kingdom, for which the noble estuaries of the Tamar and the Plym—particularly the former, and the magnificent bay in which they meet, afford every facility and convenience.

“ The speedy Tamar, which divides  
The Cornish and the Devonish confines ;  
Through both whose borders swiftly down it glides  
And meeting Plim, to Plimmouth thence declines.” \*

Killigrew, Shovell, Benbow, Boscawen, Rodney, Howe, Jervis, Collingwood, Nelson, Cochrane, all our most

\* Spenser.

famous admirals and captains, have made it their resort ; and its name is associated with the records of many an imperishable deed of naval glory, wrought by these worthy successors of the Drakes, the Hawkinses, and the Blakes of an earlier time.\* The words Portsmouth or Plymouth (for Devonport did not win a separate title or recognition until long after the Napoleonic struggle had ceased) are to be found upon every page of England's maritime history ; and traditions of the port in war time, though swiftly disappearing, yet abound—traditions of pressgangs and prize-money, of prisoners and prowess. Such traditions as that which records how Lord Cochrane, when appointed to the *Pallas*, went to Sutton Pool to fill up his crew, and quickly manned his vessel with the long-shore and merchantmen whom he found there, so great was his reputation for kindliness and daring. For although the principal naval business, then as now, was transacted at Dock, Plymouthians were by no means idle spectators of what was going on. They were quite ready to divide the labour if only they could divide the spoil. And thus it came to pass that their legitimate commerce gave way almost entirely to privateering and prize dealing ; both of which were found to be remarkably profitable speculations.

But there was a reverse to the medal. The sun did not always shine. Occasionally—not often—a Plymouth privateer met with her match, and escaped if at all with loss. Occasionally a feeling akin to that

\* Blake died on his return from Santa Cruz, August 27th, 1657, as his fleet was entering the Sound.

which our vessels caused in many a French and Spanish seaport, became unpleasantly prominent in the minds of the inhabitants of Plymouth. When all England was on the *qui vive* in the matter of invasion, Plymouth had extra cause to feel the necessity of keeping a sharp look out. More than once a visit from the foe was very narrowly escaped. Tradition avers that an attempted descent was nipped in the bud by the strategic array upon the Hoe of all the old women who were possessed of red cloaks; but as a similar story is told of almost every seaport from Dover to the Land's End, a little scepticism may be excused. In 1662 the Dutch Admiral De Ruyter came to an engagement with Sir George Ayscough in sight of Plymouth; and three years later De Ruyter's fleet anchored off the Sound, though no landing was attempted. For four days in August, 1779, the combined fleets of France and Spain—eighty-eight vessels—were off the Sound; and although Plymouth was not injured, the *Ardent* was captured within sight of the port, and one of the French frigates played havoc with the fishing boats in Cawsand Bay. Dibdin made this incident the subject of a musical farce produced at Covent Garden, and entitled "Plymouth in an uproar." In this allusion is made to Maker Tower as the look-out place. That a descent upon Plymouth was at the time actually in contemplation is clear from a work by the Count De Paradès, "Memoirs of a Spy in England, and the Causes of the Failure of the Expedition against Plymouth in 1779."

Large numbers of prisoners, made during the American and French wars, were lodged at Plymouth, in

what are now the barracks at Millbay, but were then called the French Prisons. Others occupied hulks in Hamoaze. When however the prisons at Prince Town were completed (1809), the captives were removed thither. During the Crimean war the buildings at Millbay were again applied to their old purpose ; and held some hundreds of Russians, chiefly from Bomarsund and elsewhere in the Baltic.

The warlike spirit of the townsfolk did not by any means confine itself to privateering. In 1779 the first volunteer corps was formed, its object being to convoy French and Spanish prisoners to Exeter. Later on in the century, when volunteering became a settled feature of the national character, several corps were raised (the first two companies by Messrs. John Hawker and Edmund Lockyer, in 1794); and in the review in honour of the declaration of peace in 1801, the following participated:—Plymouth, or Prince of Wales's, Plymouth Blues, Langmead's Volunteers, Julian's Rangers, Dock Volunteers, Dock Association, Scobell's Artillery, and Stonehouse Volunteers. The present volunteer corps, formed 1859, stands second in England, as in Devon, the Exeter battalion, which was formed some years before the movement became general, ranking first. The head-quarters were long at the Old Grammar School, and were removed this year to new buildings at Millbay, when that structure was required for the new Guildhall. The corps now numbers nearly 600.

A more peaceful but not less gratifying reminiscence than either of the foregoing, is to be found in the association of the port with the maritime dis-

coveries of the last century. In 1764 the *Dolphin* and *Tamar* sailed for the purpose of circumnavigating the globe, under Byron. In 1766 Wallis left with his expedition in the *Dolphin*, one of his junior officers, Captain Carteret, in the *Swallow*, making a distinct voyage. And then in 1768 (August 26), Cook sailed in the *Endeavour* on his first circumnavigation; in 1772 (July 13), in the *Resolution* and *Adventure*, on his second; and in 1776 (July 12) on his third, from which he never returned.

Within the period now under review Plymouth has entertained many distinguished guests. King Charles II. paid several visits. In 1760 he arrived by sea in company with the Dukes of York and Monmouth, and lodged in the Old Fort on the Hoe. 1660

The town was taxed by royalty to a large extent in fees, as is shewn in the following extract from the Corporation records:—"Gave to King Charles, 150 pieces of gold, £172 10s. od.; a purse to put it in, 5s. 6d.; ringers, £2; king and duke's footmen, and guards at the fort, £3 17s. 6d.; for making a stage for his majesty to stand on upon the new quay, £2 11s. 2d.; for removing timber and cleaning the streets, £1 11s. 6d.; gentlemen ushers daily waiting, £5; gentlemen ushers privy chamber, £5; serjeants at arms, £3 6s. 8d.; gentlemen ushers quarter waiters, £1; servers of the chamber, £1; serjeants and trumpeters, £3 16s. od.; pages of the presence, 10s.; knights marshall, £1; knights harbingers, £3 6s. 8d.; yeomen ushers, £1; grooms of the chamber, £1; footmen, serjeants, and porter, £3; yeomen of the mouth, £2; porters of the gate, £1; coachmen, 10s.; surveyors of

the ways, 30s.; and yeomen harbingers, £2 6s. 8d.; making a total of £219 1s. 8d."

The king returned to London through Exeter. Izaacke notes as follows:—"On the 23rd day of July, being Sunday, between seven and eight of the clock in the evening, the king coming down by sea to view the new Cittadel at Plymouth, and taking this city [Exeter] on his way homeward by land, lodged here that night in the Dean's house within the Close, and was bountifully entertained at the citie's sole charge, who presented his majesty with £500 in gold, which he graciously received, and expressed much favour towards the said city, and knighted the mayor"—Sir Benjamin Olliver. The king left the next morning at three, his short stay having hindered the great conduit "from emptying herself of one hogshead of wine."

In 1676 the king and his brother came again, and remained three days. Charles attended divine service at St. Andrew Church, where a magnificent state canopy and throne were erected, and where he went through the ceremony of "touching for the evil." One day he dined at Mount Edgcumbe. Upon this occasion he is recorded to have lodged in a private house. The citadel was then in progress, and no doubt his majesty watched with interest the advancement of a work which would hold in check the liberal views of the Plymouthians should civil disturbances again arise.\*

\* In 1660 one John Allured had been beheaded for speaking treason, and his head set on the Guildhall. Mr. Woollcombe suggests that he had been one of the king's judges.

Cosmo de Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, landed at Plymouth in 1674; and in 1687 the Queen of Portugal sailed thence for Lisbon under convoy of a fleet of six sail of the line, commanded by the Duke of Grafton.

Several visits were paid to Plymouth by George III. and various members of his family. William IV., when Duke of Clarence, from his connexion with the navy, was quite a familiar personage at Plymouth and at Dock. Many a "yarn" concerning his wild pranks has been handed down, several of which will not bear repetition. The most memorable royal visit of the last century was that of George III., Queen Charlotte, and the three eldest princesses in August, 1789. They were entertained at Saltram, and during their stay inspected the Dockyard (where they were received by Lords Chatham, Howe, and Chesterfield); witnessed a grand naval sham fight; visited Mount Edgumbe, Cotehele, Maristow, and other notable places; and by their patronage of the old theatre conferred upon it the title of Royal. On the 20th of the month the Mayor and Corporation presented a dutiful and loyal address at the Governor's House in the Citadel, and had the honour of kissing hands. The Saltash women made quite a demonstration—"a handsome cutter rowed by six fine young women, and steered by a seventh, all habited in loose white gowns with nankeen safeguards and black bonnets, each wearing a sash across her shoulders of royal purple, with 'Long live their Majesties' in gold," accompanying the royal barge.

Queen Victoria has made several visits to the port



both before and since her accession to the throne. In August, 1833, she landed with her mother, the Duchess of Kent, at the Dockyard, received an address from the Mayor and Corporation of Plymouth at the Royal Hotel, and presented the 89th Regiment with new colours. She came also in August, 1843; July, 1852; and in 1856. In May, 1859, the Prince Consort arrived alone for the purpose of opening the Royal Albert Bridge. On the 9th of July, 1860, the Prince of Wales took his departure from the Sound on his visit to Canada and the United States, when addresses were presented to him by the sister towns, that from Devonport being made in person. At Plymouth, too, he first touched English soil on his return. In July, 1865, both the Prince and the Princess came to the town, and went through the exhibition of the Royal Agricultural Society, held that year at Pennycomequick.

Of the other distinguished personages who have been temporarily associated with Plymouth in recent times two must receive especial mention here—Napoleon Bonaparte and Garibaldi. Napoleon remained some days in the Sound on board the *Bellerophon* in 1815, thousands flocking around that vessel in boats during the period of his stay. A picture of the Emperor as he appeared gazing round him from the gangway was painted by the late Sir C. L. Eastlake, who seized every opportunity of catching a glimpse of the great captive. Napoleon was aware of his intention, and rendered what assistance was in his power, even to sending his clothes on shore that the attire might be correctly delineated. A large copy of this

work was sold for £1,000. Garibaldi simply passed through the borough by rail, in April, 1864, whilst on his way to visit his old companion in arms, Colonel Peard, at Penquite, near Fowey. Advantage was taken of the occasion by the Corporation to present him with an address at the colonel's mansion. Great was the popular excitement; but the eager multitude turned out for nothing; for the hour of the general's arrival at Plymouth was so long delayed that the night had far advanced before he arrived, and nearly all the would-be sight-seers had gone home.

Other notable visitors may be mentioned. In 1809 the Prince of Orange. In 1810 Lucien Bonaparte with his family landed at the old Victualling Office, and put up at the King's Arms, where a great many ladies "waited table to obtain a glimpse of them!"\* In 1817 the Grand Duke Michael and General Mina were at Plymouth. In 1828 Don Miguel was a visitor, and was entertained at the Royal Hotel until he embarked for Lisbon. Two years later 3,000 Portuguese refugees, who had fled from their native country to escape Miguel's tyranny, took shelter in the town. Storehouses at Coxside were converted into barracks for their reception; and there they remained until their departure to the Brazils was required.

The later years of the 17th century are memorable in the history of Plymouth, not merely for the settlement of a new town on the borders of Hamoaze, but for the commencement of a work of national importance—the establishment of a lighthouse on the dangerous reef of rocks known as the Eddystones,

\* Baron.

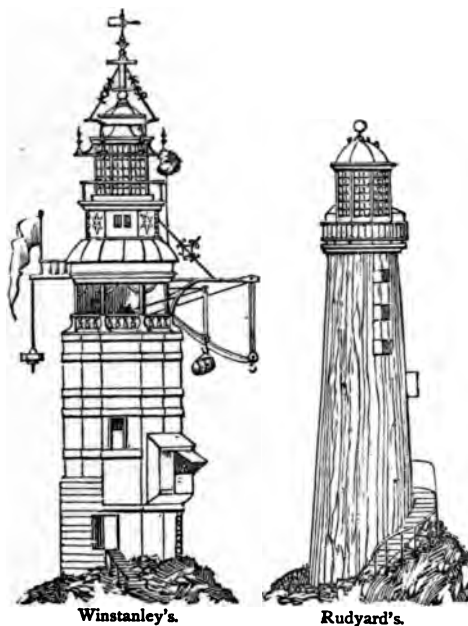
which lie fourteen miles off Plymouth Sound, directly in the Channel fairway. Many and many a tall ship had been lost thereon before any successful attempt to mark their dangers was made. The credit of the erection of the first lighthouse belongs to Mr. Henry Winstanley, a gentleman of property residing at Littlebury, Essex, who was a self-taught mechanic, and a whimsical as well as a clever man. His house was filled with curious contrivances for the surprise—not always for the pleasure—of his friends. If you trod on a certain board in a passage forthwith a skeleton started up against you. Did you unwittingly sit down in an arbour near the edge of a pond in his grounds, straightway you would be launched upon a floating island. In one room an old shoe left lying about invited a kick ; give it and a ghost would appear. Sufficient proofs these of Mr. Winstanley's ingenuity. He commenced the erection of the lighthouse in the year 1696, and completed it in four years. The structure was an exceedingly beautiful one, elaborately ornamental in design, and admirably built. It consisted of a polygonal shaft 100 feet in height, with an open gallery near the top, through which it was said a six-oared boat could be washed clear in a storm. The accessories made the building resemble a pagoda rather than a work which was intended to defy the utmost fury of the wave and wind. It braved the elements just three years. Peculiarly tragic were the circumstances attending its destruction. Mr. Winstanley had the utmost confidence in his work, and had frequently expressed a wish that he might be in the lighthouse under the

fiercest storm that ever blew, to witness the effect. His desire was fatally fulfilled. One morning in November, 1703, he left the Barbican to superintend some repairs which a storm had rendered necessary. An old seaman standing by warned him that a tempest was at hand. Nevertheless, strong in his confidence, he went. That night whilst he remained at the lighthouse a hurricane sprung up, and the next morning broke upon the untenanted rocks. Lighthouse and occupants, all had been swept away. Not a vestige remained but the fragment of a chain wedged into a cleft.\*

Three years elapsed before another attempt was made to rear a beacon. At length, under the powers of an Act of Parliament, the work was undertaken by Mr. Rudyard, a silk mercer of London. He determined to avoid the error of his predecessor, and to give the winds and waves as little hold upon the structure as was possible. Consequently his lighthouse was round instead of angular, and instead of stone he built it of wood, conceiving that by so doing he would be able to fasten the respective parts more firmly together. He was justified by the event. Commenced in 1706, and completed in 1709, the slender shaft weathered the storms of nearly fifty winters in safety, and might have defied them until the present time. Proof against wind and surge, it was not however proof against fire; and on the 2nd

\* This storm carried devastation to every part of the kingdom; thousands of houses were blown down, and hundreds of ships lost. The Bishop of Bath and Wells and his wife were killed by the falling of their palace.

of December, 1755, it was accidentally burnt. There were three keepers on the rock at the time, and they worked courageously to subdue the flames until compelled to desist, and to take refuge from destruction



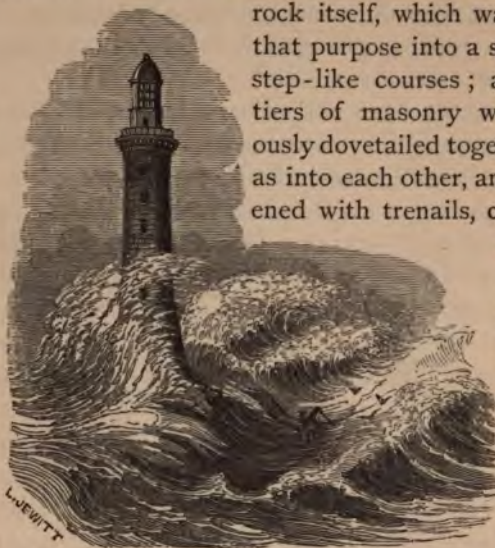
in a hole of the rock. Fortunately for them it was low water. They were rescued by some Cawsand fishing boats, the men belonging to which, seeing the conflagration, hastened to the spot. One was so panic-stricken, that immediately on landing he took to flight and was never heard of afterwards. One of the other two, an old man of 94, named Hall, died within twelve days. He stated when he was rescued

that some of the molten lead from the roof had run down his throat as he was looking up. This was disbelieved; but when he died his body was opened, and a piece of lead weighing seven ounces and five drachms found in his stomach.\*

Twelvemonths were not suffered to elapse before the third lighthouse was commenced. Mr. Smeaton, the architect, was recommended by the Royal Society. He based his design for the shaft of the building on the outline of the trunk of a tree. This he believed would ensure stability. By the use of nothing but stone in the construction—granite without and Portland within—he effectually guarded against fire. And the Eddystone Lighthouse stands now as firmly as it stood a century ago, to all appearance an imperishable monument of the architect's skill. The work of preparation was commenced in August, 1756; in June, 1757, the first stone was laid; on the 16th October, 1759, the lantern was again lit. Thus the whole undertaking was accomplished within the space of about three years, without accident or loss of life or limb. During the whole of this time there had been but 421 days on which, from the weather, the men could work on the rock, and of these only so small a portion could be used, that the whole time really spent in the erection of the building, did not amount to sixteen weeks. A large work-yard was established at Millbay, fitted with workshops and smitheries. Here the stones were hewn, and fitted to each other, and thence conveyed to the rocks by yawls and other vessels, to be

\* An account of this extraordinary case was written by Mr. E. Spry, Surgeon.

placed in their permanent position. All the lower courses of stone were joggled and morticed into the



rock itself, which was hewn for that purpose into a series of six step-like courses; and all the tiers of masonry were ingeniously dovetailed together, as well as into each other, and strengthened with trenails, cramps, and

every other appliance which experience or ingenuity could suggest. The lower portion of the building is

solid throughout, and, from its peculiar dovetailed construction, is practically but one stone of quite as firm a texture as the rock upon which it is raised.\*

The 18th century saw the realization of the efforts made to erect a beacon on the Eddystone. It was reserved for the 19th to witness the commencement and completion of a still greater national work for the protection of the magnificent roadstead of Plymouth Sound—the Breakwater. So far back as 1788, a plan was submitted to the Government, by Mr. Smith, then Master-Attendant in the Dockyard,

\* It is a noteworthy fact that this rock is gneiss, the only or almost the only instance of its occurrence in England.

for making the anchorage secure, by running out a pier from Staddon Point to the "Panther Rock." Before the formation of the Breakwater, Torbay was deemed safer than the Sound, and it was the practice to send round supplies and stores from Dock thither accordingly. Nevertheless Torbay is so exposed, that several men-of-war were lost there ; and that Lord Howe said it would in all probability prove the "grave of the British fleet." Men-of-war when at Plymouth generally anchored in Cawsand Bay. Here however they were exposed to south-easterly and easterly winds ; whilst if they anchored in the Sound they were open to the full fury of the south-westerns. The necessity that some improvement should be made was recognised on all hands, but nothing was done until Earl St. Vincent took up the subject. In 1806, Mr. Rennie, C.E., and Mr. Whidby, Master-Attendant at Woolwich, were ordered to draw up a report. Accordingly they prepared a plan for the construction of the Breakwater very much as we now see it, with certain supplementary works which have been found unnecessary. The scheme then lay in abeyance until 1811, when, after several other plans had been discussed, it was decided that Messrs. Rennie and Whidby's should be adopted. Twenty-five acres of land near Oreston were purchased for the purpose of raising the stone, and on the 12th of August, 1812, the first block was dropped into the sea. The plan of construction adopted was to sink rough masses as they came from the quarries within the line of the intended mole, and so rapid was the progress of the work, that on the 31st of March,



1813, the corners of some of the stones peered above the surface at low water spring tides. In 1815 it was determined to raise the structure to twenty feet above low water, instead of ten as originally contemplated.

In January, 1817, a hurricane displaced a considerable portion of the work, and altered the seaward slope from one in three to one in five. At the same time it afforded ample evidence of the value of the undertaking. The *Jasper* sloop-of-war, and the schooner *Telegraph*, which were anchored outside the Breakwater, were driven to the head of the Sound and wrecked, whilst a deeply laden collier, anchored within its shelter, rode out the gale in safety. Although the natural slope had been indicated by the damage done on this occasion, the work still proceeded upon the original plan. In November, 1824, however, there came a storm still more violent, which again reduced the slope to one in five, removing upwards of 200,000 tons of stone. It was then determined to follow the dictates of experience, and the centre line was removed thirty-six feet inwards, the width of the top being reduced from fifty feet to forty-five. The original estimate for the work was £1,200,000, and it was believed that it would be completed in six years. Over £1,500,000 were expended, and the works were not completed until 1841. About 4,500,000 tons of stone were used; the twenty-five acres of rock originally purchased from the Duke of Bedford proving insufficient for their production. The greatest number of workmen employed at any one time was 765.

Reference has been made to some of the more violent tempests which have visited the Sound. The most remarkable casualty which occurred there within living memory was the wreck of the *Dutton*, under the Citadel, in January 1796. She was an East India-man, and had 400 soldiers on board, besides women and her crew. The scene was a fearful one. None more fearful was ever witnessed from the Hoe. "The vessel lay on the rocks, inclined to one side, her decks covered with soldiers as thick as they could stand, with the sea breaking over them in the most horrible manner." Yet chiefly through the exertions and personal risk of Lord Exmouth, then Captain Edward Pellew (who in consequence was presented with the freedom of the town), all except ten or fifteen were saved. In the following September a far more fatal maritime disaster occurred at Devonport, the blowing up of the *Amphion* off the Dockyard, when nearly 200 lives were lost. In 1769 the *Kent* had met a similar fate in Cawsand Bay. There was a terrible storm in 1838, when the *Inconstant* frigate, which had just returned from Canada, with Earl Durham and his family on board, had to lie in the Sound for three days without being able to communicate with the shore. Had it not been for the Breakwater she could never have ridden out the gale in safety.

## CHAPTER VII.

## PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.

"SICINIUS:       How now, my masters? Have you chose this man?  
FIRST CITIZEN: He hath our voices, sir."—*Shakspeare*.

**P**LYMOUTH first sent representatives to Parliament in the reign of Edward I. as the Borough of Sutton. Bellamy gives the date of the first return as 1292; but the earliest record is dated 1298, the twenty-sixth of Edward I. The town sent representatives also in the thirty-third year of that monarch, in the fourth and seventh of Edward II., to a Council fourteenth Edward III., and probably on several other occasions in the fourteenth and earlier part of the fifteenth centuries; but the returns seem to have been intermittent until the twentieth of Henry VI., from which date they have been continuous. The right of election was variously exercised, sometimes by the Mayor and Corporation, sometimes by the freemen, including the corporate body, and sometimes by the freemen and burgesses jointly. In 1601 the Corporation agreed that no member should be elected unless he were a freeman. The author of a work entitled "History of the Boroughs of Great Britain," published in 1794, declares the general right of election to have been

originally in the people at large, but to have been usurped by a self-created corporation ; and there is little doubt that in Plymouth, as in many other boroughs, freeman was at first a term of as wide an application as burgess is now, and that under the word commonalty the general body of male inhabitants of full age was included. The House of Commons in 1660 decided upon a contested return that the right of election of members to serve in Parliament for the borough of Plymouth was vested in the Mayor and Commonalty, and Sir John Maynard and Mr. Edward Fowell, who had been elected by the Corporation, were therefore declared unduly chosen. In 1726 great stir was occasioned by the Mayor, with six of the masters or aldermen, holding a private sessions at his own house, and electing seventeen freemen. In 1739 there was a dispute as to the rights of the freeholders. Mr. John Rogers and Mr. C. Vanbrugh were the opposing candidates, and the election being decided in favour of the former by "the vast number of faggots which came from the utmost parts of Cornwall," a petition was presented against his return. The House then decided that the word commonalty mentioned in the former decision extended to freemen only, and Mr. Vanbrugh was declared duly elected. In the freemen the right of election remained until the Reform Bill of 1832, when the franchise was extended to the ten-pounders. The body of freemen, who numbered just 240 at the date of that Act, has since almost been extinguished by death. Exactly 100 years ago, in 1771, the number of voters was 292. It is now, under the operation of

the Reform Bill of 1868, which conferred the franchise on all householders, and certain lodgers, about 5,000.

The unreformed Corporation used to confer the freedom of the borough upon distinguished visitors and various great personages, much as the other municipalities did then, and as London does now. Thus in 1802 the freedom was voted to Lord St. Vincent, then first lord of the Admiralty and on a visit to the port. Subsequently the same honour was conferred on George Canning, whose speech in Guildhall upon the occasion is included in his published works. When Bishop Carey first visited the town in 1821 he was made freeman also; and just previously to the Reform Bill—which stopped the manufacture, the freemen's list included the Dukes of Clarence, Gloucester, Sussex, and Wellington; the Earl of Chatham; Lords Bloomfield, Melville, Hill, and Torrington; the Bishops of Exeter, Lincoln, and Salisbury, and several other honourable and honorary members.

No little anxiety was manifested by the Corporation while the Bill of 1832 was in prospect to keep up the number of freemen; and the right was accordingly sold to a number of inhabitants for £25 a head; it being understood that the money was to be applied towards a new guildhall. There were a good many purchasers, but some unfortunately got nothing for their money. Not having been admitted twelve months, they could not vote at the election immediately preceding the Reform Bill; and not having voted then, they were deemed to have no rights to conserve under that measure. The money, which

had accumulated to £3,000, was eventually applied towards building the gaol.

Great interest was felt in the Reform cause by the inhabitants of Plymouth generally, the great majority being without the pale of the franchise, and having no influence whatever either in parliamentary or local affairs. When in May 1832 it was learnt that the Bill was lost and that ministers had resigned, the demonstrations of public feeling were very decided. Shops were half-closed, flags were hoisted half-mast high, muffled peals were rung, and on the 16th an immense public meeting was held on the Hoe, Dr. Cookworthy presiding. The news in the following month that the Act was passed was received with corresponding rejoicing; and on the 27th instant the event was celebrated in the most enthusiastic fashion with a monster procession a mile and a half in length, the paraphernalia of which are stated to have cost in money alone, exclusive of labour, upwards of £5,000. The procession started from Granby Square, Devonport, and perambulated the Three Towns.

The following is believed to be as accurate a list of representatives as is now obtainable :\*

#### EDWARD I.

1298 William de Stok, Nicholas le Rydely, or Rodeley.

1304 William Bredon, John Austin.

#### EDWARD II.

1310 Robert le Sopere, William Smith.

1312 John Austyn, William Berd.

\* There is considerable uncertainty about some of the earlier dates. In the list here given, with the exception of the bye elections and those subsequent to 1832, the year named is generally that in which each Parliament first met.

## EDWARD III.

1340 John Bernard, John Berd.

## HENRY VI.

- \*1441 John Wolston, John Carwynnak.
- 1446 William Eggecombe, William Taillor.
- 1448 Thomas Hill, William Dauren, or Dawen.
- 1449 Thomas Wellywrought, John Briggham.
- 1450 John Radford, William Dawney.
- 1452 William Taylor, John Clyff de Stobhill.
- 1454 Vincent Pydylsden, Richard Page.

## EDWARD IV.

- 1467 John Rowland, Richard Page.
- 1472 John Snape, Nicholas Snape.
- 1477 Alfred Cornburgh, Richard Page.

From this time to the accession of Mary the official records of returns are lost, but the following in the interim are given by Mr. Woollcombe.

## HENRY VII.

- 1495 William Thyckpenny, William Bree.
- 1496 Thomas Tresawell, William Bree.
- 1503 Rogger Elford, John Style.
- 1508 John Bryan, Henry Strete.

## HENRY VIII.

- 1510 Rogger Elford, — Legh.
- 1511 Ditto ditto.
- 1514 Rogger Elford, — Bowrynge.
- 1523(?) J. Oreng, — Bowrynge.
- 1530 John Pollard, Thomas Vowell.
- 1536 John Pollard.
- 1539 James Horswell, William Hawkins.
- 1542 George Ferrers, James Horswell.
- 1543 James Horswell.

\* In 1414, the sheriff omitted Plymouth from the return, quietly for the nonce disfranchising it.

EDWARD VI.

- 1547 William Hawkins.  
1553(?) Sir Richard Edgcumbe.

MARY.

- 1553 Roger Budocushyde, William Hawkins.  
1554 John Mallett, William Hooper.

PHILIP AND MARY.

- 1554 Sir Thomas Knyvet, Roger Budocushyde.  
1555 Thomas Carew, John Yonge.  
1558 Humphry Speecott, Nicholas Slanning.

ELIZABETH.

- 1563 Thomas Champernowne, William Peryam.  
1571 Sir Humphry Gilbert, John Hawkins.  
1572 John Hawkins, Edward Tremain.  
1584 Henry Bromley, Christopher Harris.  
1586 Henry Bromley, Hugh Vaughan.  
1589 Milo Sands, Reginald Nichols, or Nicholas.  
1593 Sir Francis Drake, Robert Bassett.  
1597 Warwick Hele, William Stafford.  
1601 John Bagge, William Stalling.

JAMES I.

- 1604 Sir Richard Hawkins, James Bagge.  
1614 John Granville, Thomas Sherwill.  
1621 Ditto ditto.  
1624 Ditto ditto.

CHARLES I.

- 1625 John Granville, Thomas Sherwill.  
1626 Ditto ditto.  
1628 Ditto ditto.  
1640 Robert Trelawny, John Wadden.  
1640 Ditto ditto.  
1641 Sir John Yonge.\*

\* Yonge was elected in the place of Trelawny, who was expelled for having said that the House could not appoint a guard for themselves without the king's consent, under pain of high treason. Trelawny died in prison. Yonge signed the Remonstrance, and was one of the 100 members secluded.



## COMMONWEALTH.

- 1656 John Maynard, Timothy Alsop.  
 1659 Christopher Ceiley, Timothy Alsop.

## CHARLES II.

- 1660 Sir John Maynard, Edmund Fowell.

These gentlemen were declared unduly elected and unseated on petition. In their stead were chosen—

- 1660 William Morice, Samuel Trelawny.  
 1661 Samuel Trelawny.  
 1666 Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir W. Morice.  
 1676 John Sparke, Sir William Morice.  
 1678 Sir John Maynard, John Sparke.  
 1679 Ditto ditto.  
 1680 Sir William Jones.  
 1681 Sir John Maynard, Sir William Jones.

## JAMES II.

- 1685 Bernard Glanville, Earl Ranelagh.  
 1688 Sir John Maynard, A. Herbert.

## WILLIAM AND MARY.

- 1689 Hon. John Granville (Hon. A. Herbert created Viscount Torrington).  
 1690 Hon. John Granville, Sir J. Maynard.  
 1690 John Trelawny \* (Maynard deceased).

## WILLIAM III.

- 1695 Hon. John Granville, George Parker.  
 1698 Hon. C. Trelawny, John Rogers, senr.  
 1700 Hon. C. Trelawny, Hon. H. Trelawny.  
 1701 Ditto ditto.  
 1701 John Woollcombe (Hon. H. Trelawny deceased).

\* In 1695 the town voted one hundred guineas to this gentleman for his services as representative, and in 1701 a similar amount to Mr. C. Trelawny. In 1710 the representatives reversed the process, giving one hundred guineas each to the Corporation.

ANNE.

- 1702 Hon. C. Trelawny, John Woolcombe.
- 1705 Hon. C. Trelawny, Sir G. Byng.\*
- 1708 Ditto ditto.
- 1709 Hon. Sir. G. Byng.
- 1710 Hon. C. Trelawny, Hon. Sir G. Byng.
- 1713 Sir J. Rogers, Hon. Sir G. Byng.

GEORGE I.

- 1715 Sir John Rogers, Hon. Sir G. Byng.
- 1720 Hon. Sir G. Byng.
- 1721 Hon. Patee Byng.
- 1722 Hon. William Chetwynd, Hon. Patee Byng.
- 1724 Ditto ditto.

GEORGE II.

- 1728 Arthur Stert, George Treeby.
- 1728 Hon. Robert Byng.
- 1731 Ditto ditto.
- 1735 Arthur Stert, Hon. Robert Byng.
- 1739 John Rogers, Charles Vanbrugh (Byng deceased).

Opposing candidates, former declared unduly elected.

- 1740 Lord Henry Beauclerk (Vanbrugh deceased).
- 1741 Arthur Stert, Rt. Hon. Vere Beauclerk.
- 1744 Rt. Hon. Vere Beauclerk.
- 1747 Rt. Hon. Vere Beauclerk, Arthur Stert.
- 1750 Capt. C. Sanders, R.N. (Beauclerk deceased).
- 1754 Viscount Barrington.
- 1754 Viscount Barrington, Samuel Dicker.
- 1760 Vice-Admiral G. Pocock.

GEORGE III.

- 1761 Viscount Barrington, Vice-Admiral Pocock.
- 1762 Viscount Barrington.
- 1765 Viscount Barrington, Vice-Admiral Pocock.

\* According to Yonge's Diary the Whig interest carried Byng by "tricks and overbearing."

- 1768 Viscount Barrington, Admiral F. Holburne.
- 1771 Admiral Sir C. Hardy.
- 1774 Viscount Barrington, Admiral Sir C. Hardy.
- 1778 Viscount Lewisham (vice Barrington).
- 1780 Sir F. L. Rogers (vice Hardy).
- 1780 Sir F. L. Rogers, Vice-Admiral G. Darby.
- 1784 Captain R. Fanshawe, R.N., Captain Macbride, R.N.
- 1789 Captain A. Gardner, R.N. (vice Fanshawe).
- 1790 Captain Gardner, Sir F. L. Rogers.
- 1796 Sir F. L. Rogers, W. Elford.
- 1797 F. Glanville (Rogers deceased).
- 1802 Sir W. Elford, Philip Langmead.
- 1806 Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt.
- 1806 Sir C. M. Pole, T. Tyrwhitt.
- 1807 Ditto ditto.
- 1812 Sir C. M. Pole, Sir B. Bloomfield.
- 1819 Sir W. Congreve, Sir T. B. Martin.

#### GEORGE IV.

- 1820 Sir W. Congreve, Sir T. B. Martin.
- 1826 Ditto ditto.
- 1827 Sir T. B. Martin, Sir G. Cockburn.
- 1829 Sir G. Cockburn.

#### WILLIAM IV.

- 1831 Sir T. B. Martin, Sir G. Cockburn.\*

#### UNDER THE FIRST REFORM ACT.

- |      |      |                         |     |
|------|------|-------------------------|-----|
| 1832 | Dec. | John Collier (L).       |     |
|      |      | Thomas B. Bewes (L).    |     |
| 1835 | Jan. | John Collier (L)        | 720 |
|      |      | Thomas B. Bewes (L)     | 687 |
|      |      | Sir George Cockburn (C) | 667 |

\* The Hon. Captain Elliott was the third candidate. He was a Reformer, and the effort was to turn out Sir George Cockburn. At this election there was much controversy concerning the rights of the new freemen, who had become such by purchase.

VICTORIA I.

1837	Aug.	John Collier (L)	780
		Thomas B. Bewes (L)	772
		Sir George Cockburn (C)	551
		Hon. P. Blackwood (C)	466
1841	June	Thomas Gill (L)	821
		Viscount Ebrington (L)	787
		Alderman J. Johnson (C)	552

On Lord Ebrington becoming a Lord of the Treasury.

1846	July	Viscount Ebrington (L)	716
		Henry Vincent (Ch)	188
1847	Aug.	Viscount Ebrington (L)	921
		Roundell Palmer (L C)	837
		C. B. Calmady (L)	769
1852	July	C. J. Mare (C)	1036
		R. Porrett Collier (L)	1004
		G. T. Braine (L)	906
		Bickham Escott (L)	372

Mr. Mare being unseated on petition.

1853	June	Roundell Palmer (L C)	944
		G. T. Braine (L)	876
1857	Mar.	R. P. Collier (L)	1167
		James White (L)	1106
		John Hardy (C)	622
1859	April	Viscount Valletort (C)	1153
		R. P. Collier (L)	1086
		James White (L)	964

On Viscount Valletort succeeding his father, Earl Mount Edgcumbe.

1861	Oct.	Walter Morrison (L)	1179
		Hon. W. W. Addington (C)	984

On Mr. Collier becoming Solicitor-General.

1864	July	Sir R. P. Collier (L)	
------	------	-----------------------	--

1865	„	Sir R. P. Collier (L)	1299
		Walter Morrison (L)	1218
		R. S. Lane (C)	1147

UNDER THE SECOND REFORM ACT.

1868	Nov.	Sir R. P. Collier (L)	2086
		Walter Morrison (L)	2065
		R. S. Lane (C)	1506

On Sir R. P. Collier becoming Attorney-General.

1868 Dec. Sir R. P. Collier (L)

On Sir R. P. Collier becoming Recorder of Bristol.

1870 Sir R. P. Collier (L)\*

Many of the names in this list speak for themselves. The three most distinguished men who ever sat for Plymouth, represented the borough in the reign of Elizabeth—Sir Humphry Gilbert, Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Francis Drake. Throughout the first half of the seventeenth century Plymouth swelled the ranks of the popular party in the House of Commons; but after the Restoration there was a change, evidenced by the election of Sir William Morice, a Secretary of State, and one of the chief agents in promoting the king's return.† Sir William's connection with Plymouth preceded by some years his purchase of the manor of Stoke Damerel from the Wises. The influence of the Court was exerted with more effect after the charter of the borough had been surrendered and

\* Some objection being expressed to Sir Robert's acceptance of this office, immediately after his re-election he resigned it.

† The freemen voted in the first Parliament of Charles II., after having been deprived of their electoral rights for some time by the Corporation.

another granted appointing a new Corporation. The Revolution saw a return to the old class of representatives—the Trelawnys, and men of that stamp. Not many years, however, elapsed before the borough again fell under the domination of the powers that were. As the naval establishment at Dock grew, the influence of the Government increased, and early in the reign of George II. Plymouth became an Admiralty nomination borough, which character it retained, with few intervals, down to the time of the Reform Bill, when Devonport with Stonehouse were constituted a distinct constituency, and the reproach in popular estimation transferred to them. The writer of "*The History of the Boroughs*," already cited, shrewdly observes of his day, "The Admiralty always display the estimation which this place, Portsmouth, and Chatham, hold in their favour by the good behaviour of the respective Corporations, as the ships are usually paid off at the port which manifests the most political submission."

It appears to be a fair inference from the name of the first representative on the roll, that the inhabitants on that occasion called in the aid of a near neighbour. William de Stok is clearly William of Stoke, and there can be little doubt that the Stoke in question was Stoke Damerel. The arrest of George Ferrers, one of the town representatives, in the reign of Henry VIII., was the occasion of the statute being passed to prevent the arrest of members. The sheriffs of London, by whom the capture was made, were at the same time cast into the Tower.

The payment to members of Parliament, so far as

Plymouth is concerned, does not appear to have been very heavy. In the mayoralty of Samuel Northcote, the following entry was made in the Corporate records:—"Paid also Mr. Christopher Ceiley for his charges and service in the Parliament as one of the Burgesses of the said borough, the sum £28 1s. Then paid Mr. Timothy Alsop for his charges and service in the Parliament, as one of the Burgesses of this borough from the 19th of January, 1658, until the 7th of June, 1659, £45."

Did space permit a few pages might be occupied with traditions of long byegone election contests, which yet linger in aged memories. There used to be very sharp fighting in the latter years of the last century. The struggle between Captain Macbride and Sir Frederick Rogers was one of the most memorable. A popular election couplet—the Captain carried the day—was

"Macbride's a man, Sir Frederick's a mouse,  
Macbride shall sit in the Parliament house."

It was chiefly through Macbride's exertions that the Parliamentary grant was obtained for the erection of the Sutton Harbour piers; and his memory is still preserved at the Barbican, where a small public-house rejoices in the name of "Admiral Macbride, the faithful Irishman."

## CHAPTER VIII.

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

"Enter the mayor and his brethren."—*Shakspeare.*



OBSCURITY veils the commencement of the corporate history of Plymouth. The borough, to the extent of its present municipal limits, was first incorporated by Act of Parliament passed in the eighteenth year of Henry VI. (1439); but a Corporation by prescription existed within a part at least of the town from a much earlier period.

Sutton Prior was originally governed for the Prior of Plympton by a reeve; and it is stated that the rest of the town was held under the jurisdiction of a guild of merchants, whilst one Henry Passour is reported to have assumed the office of mayor in the eighth year of Richard II. That the municipal constitution of Plymouth is of more ancient origin than even the latter date is abundantly evident. The Earl of Mount Edgcumbe has in his possession a deed dated 1368, conveying Stonehouse from the Snapedons to the Durnfords, bearing the common seal of "The commonalty of the town of Sutton on Plymouth," which has for device a ship with the legend, "*Sigillum Communitatis Sutton super Plymouthe.*"\*

\* Oliver's "Monasticon Exoniensis."



Letters patent are extant issued in the same reign to twelve persons supposed to be the aldermen, who are described as burgesses of Plymouth. In the first year of Richard II. (1377) letters patent directing the fortification of the town were addressed to the mayor and bailiffs and honest men and commonalty. And several deeds exist of that and the subsequent reign bearing the signatures of persons who are described as mayors of Plymouth.

The Act of Parliament charter was founded upon a petition of the inhabitants. In the year 1411 they set forth that the town of Plymouth was not defended by a wall, and had been many times damaged by incursions of the French. They prayed therefore for incorporation and the right to levy dues and tolls wherewith the necessary works for the defence of the community might be provided. Among the dues asked for was the right to make all vessels arriving in the port, except those which belonged to the king, pay for anchorage to the common chest.

The answer of the crown to the petition was, "Let the petitioners compound with the lords having franchises before the next Parliament, and report to them of their having made an agreement." This proved no easy matter, the Priors raising all the opposition in their power. When, however, the charter which reserved to them the advowson and other rights was granted, they petitioned Bishop Lacy, representing that it would be desirable to convey to the new Corporation certain lands, tenements, franchises, fairs, markets, mills, and services which they possessed in the town, and praying his consent. This given, an

open public inquisition was held by the Archdeacon of Totnes in the nave of the priory church on the 7th of January, 1440. The jury found that the conventual property had been in part destroyed by the descent of the Bretons in 1403, that the yearly rental of lands was £8, that of courts, markets, and fairs 60s., and the profit of the mills over £10. Under these circumstances the offer of the Corporation of a fee farm rent of £41 was deemed a sufficient compensation, and was accepted. In 1464 the rent was reduced to £29 6s. 8d., in consequence of the "poverty and decay" of the town, and in 1534 is said to have been wholly discharged by the grant in lieu of the parsonages of Ugborough and Blackawton.\* The arrangement with the Prior included the payment of ten marks annually to the Prior of Bath; and under it the lordship of the fee of the manor was vested in the mayor and commonalty for ever, with the appurtenances, the assize of bread and beer, fishery, view of frank-pledge, tolls of the market, ducking-stool, and pillory.

The Act of Incorporation extended to the town of Sutton Prior, the tything of Sutton Ralf, part of the hamlet of Sutton Vautort, and part of the tything of Compton, which thenceforward became the borough of Plymouth; and did not extend to "the manor of Trematon, the borough of Saltash, to the waters of Tamar, nor to anything which Sir John Cornwail, Lord of Faunhope, held for the term of his natural life of the king." The rights of the Prior to St.

\* This point is doubtful. Mr. Woollcombe, on the evidence of the receivers' accounts, holds that it was reduced to £20, not discharged.

Nicholas Island and to certain messuages were also reserved. Moreover, his officers and tenants were to buy and sell toll free."\*

The "metes and bounds" set forth in the Act run thus:—"Inter Montem vocat Wynrigge, per Ripam de Sourpole versus Boriā, usque ad le Grete Dyche, alias dict' le Grate Dicke, et exinde iterum versus Boriā ad Stoke Damarlflete, et abinde per litus ejusdem Flaetre usque ad Millbrokebrigge inclusive, et deinde versus Orientam per le Middlediche de Houndesom usque ad Houndesoombrigge inclusive, et abinde usque ad Thornhillpark exclusive, et deinde usque ad Lypstonbrigge inclusive, et abinde per litus Maris continue usque ad le Lare, ad le Catte de Hyngstone, Fysshtorre, et Estkyng, et abinde usque dictum Montem de Wynrigge:"—Between the hill called Wynrigge (the Hoe, or more properly now, the Western Hoe), by the bank of Surpool (Millbay), towards the north unto the Grete Dyche, otherwise called the Grate Dicke (this seems to have been the dyke across Millbay, upon which stood the mill granted to the Priory by Ralph de Valletort), and thence again towards the north to Stoke - Damarel Fleet (Stonehouse Mill Lake), and from here by the shore of the same Fleet unto Millbrook Bridge (Penny-comequick) inclusively, and hence towards the east by the middle ditch of Houndescombe unto Houndescombe Bridge inclusively, and from here to Thornhill Park exclusively, and thence unto Lipson Bridge inclusively, and from here by the sea-shore in continuation unto the Laira, to the Catte of Hingston,

\* Rolls of Parliament.

Fishtorre, and Eastking, and from here unto the said hill of Wynrigge." The act permitted the erection of walls and defences, and allowed the levy of dues on shipping for the purpose of such buildings and their maintenance.

When Leland wrote the town was divided into four wards—"Old Towne Warde, Venar Warde, Lower Warde, and Ventre Warde," the latter "along by the gulph." In each ward there was a captain and three constables. Subsequently the wards were named Old Town, High Vintre, Lower Vintre, and Looe Street. Now there are six, instead of four, St. Andrew, Charles, Drake, Sutton, Vintry, and Frankfort. It is singular that Vintry is the only one of the old names left, seeing that Venar Warde seems to have been so called out of gratitude for assistance rendered in obtaining the Act by Thomazine Venour, widow of a Plymouthian, and Richard Trenode, of Bristol, her brother. That their name might always be kept in remembrance, the Corporation of Plymouth bound themselves to the Prior of St. Germans to have yearly masses said in St. Andrew Church for their souls and the souls of their relatives. Masses and name have accompanied each other into oblivion.

Several charters have been granted to the town, chiefly however confirmations of those precedent. In 1463 one was granted which reduced the fee farm rent from £41 to £29 6s. 8d. Confirmations were given by Richard III., in 1484; by Henry VII., in 1490; by Henry VIII., in 1510; by Edward V., in 1547. Elizabeth granted a charter which made the quondam mayor a fellow justice with the present

mayor and recorder, theretofore the only ones. In 1604 James I. confirmed the rights and privileges of the community. In 1613 they were again confirmed. In 1628 Charles I. granted a new charter, which added the two senior aldermen to the bench of justices.

In accordance with the usual policy when towns were governed by corporations that were looked upon as inimical to the higher powers, Plymouth in 1684 was made to surrender its charter to Charles II. London had been compelled to give way, and other resistance was vain. The requisition for the surrender was made by the infamous Jefferies, the man of the Bloody Assize; and the mayor and five other members of the Corporation were authorised to make it in due form, and to get the best terms they could. The surrender was made at Windsor, and a new charter granted in answer to a petition, which after setting forth that much of the income of the Corporation was held by prescription, and that it was incumbered by debt, concluded thus: "We, your most humble petitioners, do therefore in all dutiful manner implore your majesty to vouchsafe your princely compassion and favour to your said town and to pardon its past offences, and out of your abundant royal grace and bounty to accept of a surrender of the whole governing part of the said Corporation in such manner as is most conducing to your majesty's service; we only beseeching your royal favour that what is not useful for your majesty's service, but of great benefit and advantage to the said town, may be preserved, wherein we most humbly pray your majesty to signify your royal

pleasure in such manner as your most sacred majesty in your great wisdom shall think fit." The new charter varied in several particulars from the old one, and named the members of the new Corporation—staunch church and king men all. It vested the power in thirteen aldermen, of whom the mayor was one, and in twelve assistants or common councilmen, instead of twenty-four as formerly existing. A new charter granted by William in 1697, after an outlay of £600, practically restored the old state of things, and made the Corporation to consist of a mayor, recorder, twelve aldermen, and twenty-four common councilmen, with twenty-six freemen. The number of the freemen varied, but the municipal body continued the same without alteration down to the Municipal Reform Act, the last change effected in the corporate government of the town, which added twelve councillors to the twenty-four.

Under the old regime the mayor was elected on St. Lambert's day (17th September) annually, notice being given after the reading of the Nicene creed in the churches and chapels of the borough on the two previous Sundays. On the eventful day the Corporation and freemen would meet at the Guildhall, and proceed with a band of music and in state array to St. Andrew Church, whence after service they would return to the Guildhall, and the election would take place. Then the procession would be re-formed, and a second visit paid to the church, where the 117th Psalm would be sung, the offertory taken up, and the prayer for the whole estate of the Catholic Church and the collect for the day read. The new mayor

was sworn in on the feast of St. Michael. On Freedom day, between St. Lambert and St. Michael, the bounds of the borough were perambulated by the mayor, the mayor-elect, freemen, and inhabitants, with the charity boys; the perambulation ending in Freedom Field, at the back of Woodside. Then at three in the afternoon the freedom boys used to assemble for the purpose of knocking down a glove over the Guildhall door. This practice was discontinued because the boys in climbing over each other injured themselves.

The mayor, ex-mayor, recorder, and two senior aldermen used to be justices of the peace. They held quarter sessions for all offences not capital. Petty sessions, and a court of record for the recovery of debts,\* were held each week.

For three centuries a very singular mode of mayor choosing was followed. The mayor and aldermen would elect two persons, under the name of alfurers or affeerers; and the freemen two more out of the common council. By the four a jury of thirty-six would be chosen, and by this jury one of the aldermen was elected. A contest arising at the mayor choosing in 1802, the matter was brought to trial at the Exeter Lent Assizes in 1803, before Mr. Baron Thompson. It was then declared to be an infringement upon the rights of the commonalty, and therefore illegal; and the elective franchise was restored to the freemen at large, every freeman being eligible.†

\* Prior to the establishment of the County Court, a Court of Requests for the Three Towns was held at Eldad.

† Dr. Woollcombe, additions to Risdon.

Mr. J. C. Langmead, then mayor, resigned the office, and was re-appointed by the commonalty. This memorable victory of the freemen over the old corporation is commemorated by a medal worn suspended to the civic chain of office. It bears on the obverse the arms of the borough, and the following inscription:—"Usurpatione depressi Legibus Restituti. Turris fortissima est nomen Jehovæ. 17 Martis, 1803." On the reverse, "The freemen of Plymouth request your wearing this medal, to be returned at the expiration of your mayoralty, in honourable token of that inestimable branch of the British Constitution, trial by jury, by whose verdict the right to elect a chief magistrate for the borough was restored, after having been unjustly withheld for upwards of three centuries."

There are three maces belonging to the borough. They date from the reign of Queen Anne, about which time some old, and with our present lights much more valuable ones, were sold for old metal. The largest was given by Colonel Jory, when one of the others was ordered to be carried before the mayoress.

The seals of the borough are curious. One is circular, with, in the upper part, three elaborate canopies; beneath the centre one is a figure of St. Andrew, with cross and book, and nimbus surrounding the head; and beneath the others figures bearing respectively shields of St. George and the royal arms. In the lower part is a shield of the arms of the borough. The ancient inscription has evidently been cut away, and a more modern one inserted. It bears the words,



THE COMEN SELLE OF THE BOROVGH & COMENALTE OF Y<sup>r</sup> KYNGS TOWNE OF PLYMOTHE. Another seal is also circular, the field being filled with the shield



of the borough arms; the sides with Gothic tracery. The shield is surmounted by a crown of *fleurs-de-lis*, and is altogether a very elegant and simple design. The inscription is in black letter, and has been purposely mutilated at some period, a portion

of the words having been cut away. It now reads, S (igillum) OFFICII MAIORATVS BURGI VILLE ( . . . ) DE PLYMOVTH. There is also a plain circular seal of rude workmanship, bearing the arms of the borough, in a shield, with the date 1595, but no inscription. Two ancient cups or goblets, silver gilt, are among the corporate property. The older is the gift of a Mr. White, and bears within the rim this inscription partially effaced :—"The gyft of John Whit of London, Haberdasher, to the Mayor of Plymouth and his brethren for ever, to drinke crosse one to y<sup>e</sup> other at their Feastes and Meetinges. Dated y<sup>e</sup> 5th of June, 1535." The date is indistinct, but appears to be 1535. However, as John White in 1584 founded a charity in connection with the Corporation, it seems pretty clear that the "3" should be read "8." The other cup is inscribed on the outer edge, "The guift of S<sup>r</sup> John Gayer, Alderman of London, Ano Domini 1648." White's was known as the Union Cup, and from it we may with safety conclude that Drake and Hawkins, and probably Raleigh, have

drunk, as the various corporate notabilities and visitors since that date certainly have.

The following is believed to be as complete a list of the mayors and ancient headmen of the borough as can be now compiled. Such variations as occur in the various authorities, which do not affect the insertion or omission of half a dozen names in the whole, although they involve the ante or post dating of the terms of office of most of the mayors down to the commencement of the last century, have as far as possible been examined into, and settled by a reference to sources whence indirect or collateral evidence might be gained.\*

## EARLY MAYORS.

- 1313 William Berd, prepositus.
- 1325 Edward de Northcote, prior's prepositus.
- 1370 Maurice Berd, mayor.
- 1377 John Vernon „
- 1381 William Honyton „
- 1383 Humphry Passour „
- 1395 Walter Crocker „
- 1397 Richard Row „
- 1398 Walter Dymmick, prepositus.
- 1408 William Bentele, mayor.
- 1412 William Rogherne „
- 1413 William Bentley „
- 1414 Henry Boon „
- 1418 William Bentley „
- 1439 William Totwell, prior's portreeve of Sutton.

\* These variations comprise, the existence of a blank under 1447, placing Facey in 1448, and the post-dating the succeeding mayors to 1605 one year; the insertion of Douriman in 1606, and the consequent post-dating of Bagge and his successors to 1634 two years; the omission of Andrews, and the substitution of Trelawny in the latter year, which reduces the post-dating to one year again until 1715, when the further omission of John Pike makes the records thenceforth tally.

## MAYORS UNDER THE PRESENT INCORPORATION.

1439-40 William Ketherick, or Ketrick.	1473-74 Nicholas Henscott, or Heynscott.
1440-41 Walter Clovelley.	1474-75 William Paige.
1441-42 William Pollard.	1475-76 Nicholas Henscott.
1442-43 John Shepley, or Schyplyght.	1476-77 Ditto.
1443-44 William Nycoles.	1477-78 John Pollard.
1444-45 Ditto.	1478-79 Nicholas Henscott.
1445-46 John Shepley.	1479-80 William Rodgers.
1446-47 John Facey.	1480-81 Thomas Tregarthea, or Gregorthead, or Gregorwarthen.
1447-48 John Carwinnick.	1481-82 Thomas Tresawell, or Craswell.
1448-49 John Facey.	1482-83 Nicholas Henscott.
1449-50 John Paiges.	1483-84 Thomas Greyson, or Grigson.
1450-51 Stephen Chepeman.	1484-85 Pears or Pearse Carswell, or Croswell.
1451-52 Ditto.	1485-86 Thomas Tresawell.
1452-53 Thomas Tregle, or Greyell.	1486-87 Thomas Greyson.
1453-54 Vincent Petylysden, or Pettleston.	1487-88 Nicholas Henscott.
1454-55 Ditto.	1488-89 Peryn Earle.
1455-56 John Dorniforde, or Dernford.	1489-90 Thomas Greyson.
1456-57 Vincent Petylysden.	1490-91 Nicholas Henscott.
1457-58 John Carwinnick.	1491-92 John Paynter.
1458-59 Thomas Tregle.	1492-93 William Thyrkpenney, or Thykpeny.
1459-60 William Yogge.	1493-94 Ditto.
1460-61 John Pollard.	1494-95 Thomas Bygporte.
1461-62 William Yogge.	1495-96 William Nicholl.
1462-63 John Paige.	1496-97 William Rodgers.
1463-64 John Rowland.	1497-98 Thomas Tresawell.
1464-65 Ditto.	1498-99 John Paynter.
1465-66 Ditto.	'99-1500 John Illcombe, or Willcombe.
1466-67 Richard Bovy.	1500- 1 William Byle.
1467-68 William Yogge.	1501- 2 Thomas Crapp.
1468-69 John Paige.	1502- 3 John Horswell.
1469-70 John Rowland.	1503- 4 John Paynter.
1470-71 William Yogge.	
1471-72 William Paige.	
1472-73 Richard Bovy.	

- 1504- 5 John Brewne, or Bre-  
man.  
 1505- 6 William Tregell.  
 1506- 7 Thomas Tresawell.  
 1507- 8 Simon Carswell, or  
Craswell.  
 1508- 9 John Paynter.  
 1509-10 Richard Gewe, or Gore.  
 1510-11 Walter Pollard.  
 1511-12 William Brokyng, or  
Brooking.  
 1512-13 John Gryslyng, or Gys-  
lyng.  
 1513-14 John Pound, or Pond.  
 1514-15 William Brokyng.  
 1515-16 John Paynter.  
 1516-17 John Brewne.  
 1517-18 John Herford, or Har-  
ford.  
 1518-19 William Rundell.  
 1519-20 John Pound.  
 1520-21 William Rundell.  
 1521-22 Stephen Pearse, or Pore.  
 1522-23 Thomas Bull.  
 1523-24 John Bovey, or Bowey.  
 1524-25 William Brooking.  
 1525-26 John Pound.  
 1526-27 John Herford.  
 1527-28 Henry Bickham, or  
Bykham.  
 1528-29 James Horswell, or  
Horswell.  
 1529-30 William Brooking.  
 1530-31 William Rundell.  
 1531-32 John Bigport, or Bygport.  
 1532-33 William Hawkins.\*  
 1533-34 Christopher Moore.  
 1534-35 John Elyott, or Elliott.  
 1535-36 James Horswell.  
 1536-37 Thomas Brill.
- 1537-38 Thomas Clouter, or  
Clowter.  
 1538-39 William Hawkins.  
 1539-40 Thomas Byrte.  
 1540-41 John Thomas.  
 1541-42 Thomas Mills.  
 1542-43 James Horswell.  
 1543-44 Thomas Holloway.  
 1544-45 Thomas Clowter.  
 1545-46 William Rundell.  
 1546-47 Lucas Cock, or Coke.  
 1547-48 John Elliott.  
 1548-49 Richard Hooper.  
 1549-50 William Weekes, Wex,  
or Wyks.  
 1550-51 John Kensham, or  
Hairsman.  
 1551-52 Thomas Clowter.  
 1552-53 John Thomas  
 1553-54 Lucas Cock.  
 1554-55 John Illcombe.  
 1555-56 John Ford.  
 1556-57 Thomas Clowter.  
 1557-58 John Derry.  
 1558-59 William Weekes.  
 1559-60 Lucas Cock.  
 1560-61 John Elliott.  
 1561-62 William Luke died No-  
vember 10th. William  
White chosen in his  
stead.  
 1562-63 John Ford.  
 1563-64 John Derry.  
 1564-65 Nicholas Slanning.  
 1565-66 Nicholas Bickford.  
 1566-67 John Illcombe.  
 1567-68 William Hawkins.  
 1568-69 Lucas Cock.  
 1569-70 John Martayne, or  
Marrtyn.

\* Capt. Will, father of Sir John.

- 1570-71 Gregory Cock.  
 1571-72 William Holloway.  
 1572-73 John Blethman, or  
     Blythman.  
 1573-74 William Brooking.  
 1574-75 John Amades, or  
     Amadas.  
 1575-76 Walter Pepell, or  
     Peperall.  
 1576-77 John Ilcombe, senr.  
 1577-78 George Maynard.  
 1578-79 William Hawkins.\*  
 1579-80 Gregory Cocke.  
 1580-81 John Blythman.  
 1581-82 Sir Francis Drake.  
 1582-83 Thomas Edmonds.  
 1583-84 John Sparke.  
 1584-85 Christopher Brooking.  
 1585-86 Thomas Ford.  
 1586-87 George Maynard.  
 1587-88 William Hawkins.\*  
 1588-89 Humphry Fownes.  
 1589-90 John Blythman.  
 1590-91 Walter Pepell.  
 1591-92 John Sparke.  
 1592-93 John Geare.  
 1593-94 John Phillips.  
 1594-95 George Barons, or  
     Barnes.  
 1595-96 James Bagg.  
 1596-97 Humphry Fownes.  
 1597-98 Sir John Trelawny.  
 1598-99 Martin White and John  
     Blythman.  
 '99-1600 Richard Hocking, Hich-  
     ing, or Hutching.  
 1600- 1 Thomas Payne.
- 1601- 2 William Parker, or  
     Barker.  
 1602- 3 John Martya.  
 1603- 4 Sir Richard Hawkins.†  
 1604- 5 Walter Mayre, or  
     Matthews.  
 1605- 6 James Bagge.  
 1606- 7 William Douriman.  
 1607- 8 Robert Trelawny.  
 1608- 9 Thomas Sherwell, or  
     Sherwill.  
 1609-10 John Battersley.  
 1610-11 Thomas Fownes.  
 1611-12 John Trelawny.  
 1612-13 John Waddon.  
 1613-14 John Scobble.  
 1614-15 John Clemmett, or  
     Clement.  
 1615-16 Abraham Colmer.  
 1616-17 Robert Trelawny.  
 1617-18 Thomas Sherwill.  
 1618-19 Nicholas Sherwill.  
 1619-20 Thomas Fownes.  
 1620-21 Robert Rawling.  
 1621-22 John Bound, or Pound.  
 1622-23 John Martyne.  
 1623-24 Leonard Pomeroy, or  
     Pomeroy.  
 1624-25 Thomas Selly.  
 1625-26 Nicholas Blake.  
 1626-27 Thomas Sherwill.‡  
 1627-28 Robert Trelawny and  
     Abraham Colmer.  
 1628-29 Nicholas Sherwill.  
 1629-30 William Heale.  
 1630-31 John Bownd.  
 1631-32 John Waddon.

\* Brother of Sir John.

† Son of Sir John.

‡ Three Mayors in one year, T. Sherwill, R. Trelawny, and A. Colmer, the two first dying of the plague.—*Haydon's History of Plymouth*, under date 1625.

- 1632-33 Philip Andrews.  
 1633-34 Robert Trelawny.  
 1634-35 John Martyn.  
 1635-36 Thomas Crampthorn, or  
           Cramporne.  
 1636-37 John Cawse.  
 1637-38 Nicholas Sherwill.  
 1638-39 William Heale.  
 1639-40 Robert Gubbs.  
 1640-41 William Birth, or Birch.  
 1641-42 Thomas Seely.  
 1642-43 Philip Francis.  
 1643-44 John Cawse.  
 1644-45 Justinian Peard, or  
           Paired.  
 1645-46 Bartholomew Nichols  
 1646-47 Christopher Seely, or  
           Ciely.  
 1647-48 Richard Evans.  
 1648-49 Timothy Alsope, or  
           Allsop.  
 1649-50 Oliver Seely.  
 1650-51 Robert Gubbs.  
 1651-52 Philip Francis.  
 1652-53 John Maddock.  
 1653-54 Richard Spurrell.  
 1654-55 John Paige.  
 1655-56 Christopher Seely.  
 1656-57 Justinian Peard.  
 1657-58 William Geffrey.  
 1658-59 Samuel Nortcot, or  
           Northcot.  
 1659-60 John King.  
 1660-61 Oliver Seely.  
 1661-62 William Allin, or Allen,  
           removed for noncom-  
           formity; William Jen-  
           nins.  
 1662-63 William Jennins.  
 1663-64 John Harris.  
 1664-65 John Martyn.  
 1665-66 William Harper.  
 1666-67 George Strelly.  
 1667-68 Thomas Stut, or Strut.  
 1668-69 William Simonds, or  
           Symons.  
 1669-70 Daniel Barker.  
 1670-71 William Cotton.  
 1671-72 Peter Schagell, or  
           Seadgwell.  
 1672-73 John Lanyon.  
 1673-74 Henry Webb.  
 1674-75 William Weekes.  
 1675-76 John Dell.  
 1676-77 Andrew Horseman.  
 1677-78 William Tom, or Toms.  
 1678-79 John Munyon.  
 1679-80 James Hull.  
 1680-81 William Symons.  
 1681-82 Daniel Barker.  
 1682-83 Peter Foot.  
 1683-84 Robert Berry, William  
           Martyn.  
 1684-85 Isaac Tillard, William  
           Martyn.  
 1685-86 Samuel Maddock.  
 1686-87 Sir John Trelawny.  
 1687-88 Thomas Strut.  
 1688-89 William Symons.  
 1689-90 Philip Andrews.  
 1690-91 John Paige.  
 1691-92 John Martyn.  
 1692-93 John Munyon.  
 1693-94 Philip Wilcox, or  
           Wilcocks.  
 1694-95 James Young.  
 1695-96 Robert Berry.  
 1696-97 John Munyon.  
 1697-98 John Warren.  
 1698-99 John Neele.  
 '99-1700 Richard Opie.  
 1700- 1 Joseph Webb.

- 1701- 2 William Davis.  
 1702- 3 William Cock.  
 1703- 4 Nicholas Gennys.  
 1704- 5 Thomas Derracott.  
 1705- 6 Jonah Lavington.  
 1706- 7 Samuel Allen.  
 1707- 8 James Cock.  
 1708- 9 Robert Hewer.  
 1709-10 James Bligh.  
 1710-11 William Roche, or Rock,  
           removed ; Richard  
           Opie.  
 1711-12 Robert Cown, or Thomas  
           Cowns, died ; Benja-  
           min Berry.  
 1712-13 Andrew Phillips.  
 1713-14 William Hurrell.  
 1714-15 John Pike.  
 1715-16 John Crabb.  
 1716-17 Abraham Joy.  
 1717-18 John Beere died ; Robert  
           Hewer.  
 1718-19 Edward Deeble.  
 1719-20 William Bartlett.  
 1720-21 George Redoubt, or  
           Ridout.  
 1721-22 John Fletcher died ;  
           John Elford.  
 1722-23 Sir John Rogers.  
 1723-24 Andrew Phillips.  
 1724-25 John Crabb.  
 1725-26 Samuel Brent.  
 1726-27 Benjamin Berry.  
 1727-28 Edward Deeble.  
 1728-29 John Rogers.  
 1729-30 Samuel Allen died ;  
           William Cock.  
 1730-31 John Tapson.  
 1731-32 John Wadden.  
 1732-33 Robert Hewer.  
 1733-34 John Hellier.  
 1734-35 Thomas Phillips.  
 1735-36 William Strong died ;  
           Robert Hewer.  
 1736-37 John Veale.  
 1737-38 Greenhill Darracott.  
 1738-39 Henry Tolcher.  
 1739-40 Edward Deeble.  
 1740-41 John Waddon.  
 1741-42 Richard Gortley died ;  
           Sir J. Rogers.  
 1742-43 Launcelot Robinson.  
 1743-44 John Rogers.  
 1744-45 Edward Hoblyn.  
 1745-46 William Martyn, M.D.  
 1746-47 William Davis Phillips.  
 1747-48 Michael Nicholls.  
 1748-49 John Ellery.  
 1749-50 John Facey.  
 1750-51 James Richardson.  
 1751-52 Robert Triggs.  
 1752-53 John Drake died ;  
           Michael Nicholls.  
 1753-54 John Morshead.  
 1754-55 Jacob Austen.  
 1755-56 Thomas Bewes.  
 1756-57 John Forest.  
 1757-58 Antony Porter.  
 1758-59 John Facey.  
 1759-60 James Richardson.  
 1760-61 Robert Phillips.  
 1761-62 Michael Nicolls.  
 1762-63 John Morshead.  
 1763-64 Jacob Austen.  
 1764-65 Thomas Bewes.  
 1765-66 John Nicolls.  
 1766-67 William Davis Phillips.  
 1767-68 Richard Beach.  
 1768-69 Henry Tolcher.  
 1769-70 Samuel Peters.  
 1770-71 Joseph Tolcher.  
 1771-72 Diggory Tonkin.

1772-73 Joseph Brent.	1810-11 Edmund Lockyer.
1773-74 Robert Fanshawe.	1811-12 George Bellamy M.D.
1774-75 Sir F. L. Rogers.	1812-13 John Arthur.
1775-76 Ralph Mitchell.	1813-14 Henry Woollcombe.
1776-77 Henry Tolcher, junr.	1814-15 Sir Diggory Forest.
1777-78 Samuel White.	1815-16 William Lockyer.
1778-79 Joseph Freeman.	1816-17 Samuel Pym, Captain, R.N.
1779-80 Thos. Blyth Derricott.	1817-18 Thomas Miller.
1780-81 Jacob Shaw.	1818-19 Richard Arthur, Captain, R.N.
1781-82 Joseph Austen.	1819-20 George Eastlake, jun.
1782-83 George Marshall.	1820-21 Richard Jago Squire.
1783-84 John Arthur.	1821-22 Edmund Lockyer.
1784-85 John Nicolls.	1822-23 William Adams Wels- ford.
1785-86 Joseph Tolcher.	1823-24 Nicholas Lockyer, Capt. R.N.
1786-87 Diggory Tonkin.	1824-25 Edmund Lockyer.
1787-88 Robert Fanshawe.	1825-26 William Henry Hawker.
1788-89 Peter Tonkin.	1826-27 Richard Arthur, Capt., R.N.
1789-90 John Cooban.	1827-28 Richard Pridham, Capt.
1790-91 Stephen Hammick.	1828-29 Richard Freeman, M.D.
1791-92 George Winne.	1829-30 William Furlong Wise, Capt., R.N.
1792-93 William Crees.	1830-31 Nicholas Lockyer, Capt., R.N.
1793-94 Andrew Hill.	1831-32 Aaron Tozer, Capt. R.N.
1794-95 William Symons.	1832-33 George Coryadon.
1795-96 Robert Fuge.	1833-34 William Hole Evans.
1796-97 Richard Burdwood.	1834-35 John Moore.
1797-98 Peter Tonkin.	1836 Thomas Gill.*
1798-99 Bartholomew Dunster- ville.	1836-37 Samuel King.
'99-1800 John Arthur.	1837-38 William Hole Evans.
1800- 1 Philip Langmead.	1838-39 George William Soltan.
1801- 2 Thomas Cleather.	1839-40 Joseph Collier Cook- worthy, M.D.
1802- 3 John Clark Langmead.	1840-41 Ditto.
1803- 4 Edmund Lockyer.	
1804- 5 James Elliott.	
1805- 6 John Hawker	
1806- 7 Thomas Lockyer.	
1807- 8 Thomas Eales.	
1808- 9 William Langmead.	
1809-10 Joseph Pridham.	

\* First Mayor elected under the Municipal Reform Act. Mr. Moore held office to end of 1835.



1841-42 George W. Soltau.	1855-56 John Kelly.
1842-43 William Prance.	1856-57 Francis Freke Bulteel.
1843-44 Nicholas Lockyer.	1857-58 Richard Hicks.
1844-45 Philip Edward Lyne.	1858-59 James Skardon.
1845-46 Benjamin Parham.	1859-60 John Burnell.
1846-47 Thomas Hillersden	1860-61 William Luscombe.
Bulteel.	1861-62 William Derry.
1847-48 James Moore.	1862-63 Ditto.
1848-49 William Burnell.	1863-64 Charles Norrington.
1849-50 James Moore.	1864-65 Ditto.
1850-51 David Derry.	1865-66 Francis Hicks.
1851-52 Alfred Rooker.	1866-67 William Radford.
1852-53 Herbert Mends Gibson.	1867-68 Ditto.
1853-54 Copplestone Lopes	1868-69 Alexander Hubbard.
Radcliffe.	1869-70 William Luscombe.
1854-55 Thomas Stevens.	1870-71 Robert Coad Serpell.

There are several matters of interest connected with various mayors. An old MS. says of Kentherick that he "was a little square man, remarkable for shooting with the strong bow, and one of the greatest eaters of his time. He gave at the feast during his mayoralty a pie composed of all sorts of fish, flesh, and fowl that could be gotten; it was fourteen feet long and four feet broad, and an oven was built on purpose for baking it." John Shapley, mayor in 1442, came to preferment, marrying the King of Sicily's daughter.

There seems to have been much jealousy concerning Yogge, although he was a great benefactor to the town, and built the Old Church tower. Possibly he prospered too well for his brother merchants. At any rate, whatever the cause, in 1472 he was put out of his freedom by the operation of a bye-law which must have been enacted with a special application to

him. It was agreed by the Corporation that no man should be made free of the borough unless he were a whole or a half brother of our Lady and St. George's Guild. Yogge being neither was ejected.

In 1580, in consequence of the plague, which carried off 1,600 persons, the mayor-choosing took place on Cattedown. In the year following the chair was filled by its most memorable occupant, Sir Francis Drake, and in the next again the aldermen first assumed the full-blown dignity of office by donning scarlet robes, having passed a resolution that every one of the twelve should provide himself with a scarlet gown within twelve months, or forfeit 40s.\* In 1604 a very amusing contest of dignities occurred. Sir Richard Hawkins was succeeded in the mayoralty by Walter Mayre or Matthews, who had been Sir Richard's servant, as his wife had to Lady Hawkins. The latter lady, disdaining to sit below one who had risen from so low a state, endeavoured to keep the upper hand. The mayoress resisted, and in the scuffle received a box on the ear. Great was the confusion, and Sir Richard to make amends gave the town a house somewhere in Market Street. Northcot, mayor in 1658-9, was one of the sufferers for conscience sake. During his mayoralty he was required to give currency in church to a proclamation which had been issued by the Parliament. He refused "from scruples of piety," and was immediately sent for to London, and im-

\* One of the train of Cosmo de Medici, who visited Plymouth in 1669, noted that the twenty-four then wore gowns, which reached to the ground, of black cloth richly ornamented with strips of black velvet, with black square collar lined with fur of the same material.

prisoned. This untoward affair ended in his ruin. In 1662 the mayor, William Allen, was ejected for non-conformity. In 1711 William Roche was removed, and prosecuted for malpractice, having "broken open the chest to get at the seals, in order to make one Hugo vicar of the New Church, in the absence of the majority of the aldermen." A few years later there were great disturbances at the mayoral elections. On St. Lambert's day, 1727, the contest was persisted in until midnight; and in the following year the jury were equally divided, eighteen being for John Rogers and eighteen for George Treeby. No choice being made, the candidates drew their swords upon each other, and sad consequences must have ensued if a fire had not opportunely occurred in Gasking Street. The town was thus without a Mayor until the 12th of March, when by virtue of a mandamus John Rogers was elected. In 1729 the contest was prolonged until noon the following day. In 1745 there was such a high tide on Freedom day eve, that the corporate feasters were carried out of the Mayoralty House, Woolster Street, on men's shoulders.\*

In consequence of the operation of the Test and Corporation Acts, Plymouth was without a sworn mayor from September to December, 1811. Mr. Bellamy, who was elected, was not, to quote the "poet corporate" (R. W. S. Baron), swearable, in consequence of having omitted to take the sacrament

\* This was the second Mayoralty House. The first had been erected not long after the passing of the Act; and was burnt eight years previously to the occurrence above related. The doorway and the kitchen fire-place alone remained.

within the previous twelve months. Eventually he was sworn under a writ of mandamus, on the 16th December, having qualified himself according to law in the meantime.

There is no complete list of the recorders of the borough extant. John Denys is the first named, under date 22nd Edward IV., 1482. There subsequently appear the names of one Bowryng in 1489; T. Tresawell, 1498; A. Hillersden, 1522; — Courtenay, 1539; John Charles, 1547; Thomas Williams, 1564. Since the commencement of the seventeenth century the list is complete, as follows :—

- 1609 John Hele.
- 1611 Sir W. Strode.
- 1620 Serjeant Glanville.
- 1640 Serjeant Maynard.
- 1684 John [Grenville], Earl of Bath.
- 1697 Sir F. Drake.
- 1717 Sir John Rogers.
- 1744 Sir John Rogers, son of the former.
- 1773 Sir F. Rogers.
- 1777 Sir F. L. Rogers.
- 1797 Sir William Elford.
- 1833 H. Woollcombe.
- 1837\* W. C. Rowe, afterwards Sir W. C. Rowe.
- 1856 C. Saunders.

Serjeant Maynard was displaced under the new charter of Charles, and the Earl of Bath substituted. After the Revolution Maynard, notwithstanding his great age, represented the borough in Parliament. It will be noted that for eighty years in succession during the last century, the recordership was, so to

\* Under the Municipal Reform Act.

speaking, hereditary in the Rogers family. Mr. Woollcombe was elected by the mayor and commonalty; previous appointments back to an unknown date having been made by the Corporation. Under the Municipal Reform Act the office is in the gift of the Lord Chancellor.

Plymouth rejoices in the possession of Lords High Steward, whose duties are now purely honorary, whatever they may have been in times past. The origin of the office and its early holders are involved in much obscurity. One of the Earls of Bedford held it in 1631; Lord Robartes, Lord Privy Seal, in 1666. It has long been the custom of the Corporation to invite one of the royal family to accept the post. It was conferred on George IV. when but a child. After his death it was held successively by the Duke of Sussex and the Prince Consort. In 1862 the Prince of Wales succeeded his father.

The Corporation records are not in so complete a state as could be desired, large quantities having disappeared when the Guildhall was erected in 1800. Still several characteristic extracts may be made. The black and the white books are the most interesting of the ancient records of the Corporation, the black book, which gives a list of the mayors and a short chronicle of important events, being the oldest:—

“1561.—Item to my Lord Busshoppes Players, 13s. 4d.; Item to Mr. Fortescues Players, 13s. 4d.; Item to the Queenes Players, £1 os. 6d.; Item to a Dynner given to the Lord Bisshoppe, £5 2s. 6d.; Item to Mr. Cook for the hier of his Horsse when he rode to London, 13s. 4d.; Item for the Clocke, with the

charges for setting uppe the same, £6 13s. 4d. 1562.—Item given to Sir Perrcyval Harts plaiers, 6s. 8d. 1563.—Item to the Erll of Warwicke y<sup>e</sup> pleers the ix. of June, for Pleying, 13s. 4d.; Item for the Queenes players, £1; Item for a Throne for the towne, £1 2s. od. 1564.—Item payde to the Erell of Worsetters pleers, 13s. 4d.; Item payde to John Waddon, for a maste for the Towns Barge, 6s. 8d. 1565.—Item payde to 3 Brittons that were taken the 6th of January, 2s. od.; Item paide to the poor boyes of the towne that played at the Mayors, 5s. od.; Item paide to my Lord Munyer's Pleyers, 13s. 4d.; Item paide to my Lorde Hunsdons Pleers, 13s. 4d. 1566.—Item payed to Players in the churche uppon St. John is daye, 6s. 8d.; Item payde to the Mynstrills and Dauncers upon Maye daie for theire dynner and drynkinge, 6s. 8d.; Item paid for a dynner for the receivynge of the Queenes Ambassador, £1; Item paid to Alse Lyell for my Lorde Bishoppes dynner, £1 6s. 8d.; Item paide to the Cooke for the rostyng of the Meate, 6s. 8d.; Item paide to Willm. Flecher for fetheringe of ten sheffe of arrowes, 6s. 8d.; Item paide for drynkinge when the ordynance was brought to the Howe, 2s. 8d. 1567.—Item, received of Richard Filde of Plimpton for his fyne for a forfeiture by hym made in selling of certain salt to a stranger this yeare, and he himself a forreyner also, 4s. od.; Item, gave to the company of St. Budokes on Maye day, 10s. od.; Item paide then to the Moryshe Dauncers, 3s. 4d.; Item for a breckfast for the Moryshe Dauncers Pleers on Maye day, 5s. od. 1668.—Item pd. for dressinge of the Maye Pole, 1s. od.; Item pd. for rentinge of the

Maye Pole, 3s. 4d.; Item pd. to the Morishe Dawnseres on Maye daye, 4s. od.; Item pd. to Kympe for the May Pole, 3s. 4d. 1569.—Item payed to Robert Kylburn for one quarter his wages to beate the beggers out of Towne, 2s. 6d.” In 1709 a dinner was given to four Indian kings.

There are numerous entries concerning the great English institution—dinner. In 1559 it was agreed that the mayor should have £20 a year for his table. His worship's banquet was however discontinued in 1571, perhaps because affairs were not prosperous, since we find half a dozen years previously that 10s. was paid for dinner for two commissioners sitting upon the decay of the town. Thereafter the revenue of the market was allotted to the mayor for the support of his kitchen; but in 1737 it was enacted that on account of the debts of the Corporation “no allowance be made the mayor, no salary to the recorder, and all entertainments discontinued, except on Lambert's day, Michaelmas day and Freedom day.” The freemen's dinner was given up in the mayoralty of Mr. George Eastlake, 1819–20, and the mayor's allowance stopped.

At the Restoration of Charles II. the townspeople made the *amende honourable* for their opposition to his father by giving him two pieces of plate worth £400. They were presented to the king in the name of the town by the members, Morice and Trelawny; Maynard, the recorder; and Fowell, the town clerk.\*

\* One of the pieces, a wine fountain, is still part of the regalia. Charles made one of his children, Charles Fitzcharles, Baron Dartmouth, Viscount Totnes, and Earl of Plymouth; but the young peer died in

The loyalty of the inhabitants was so exuberant that the conduits ran with wine for two days. So too in 1687 £10 12s. 6d. is charged for two tierce of claret, that the conduits might run with wine on the birthday of that unhappy Prince of Wales who was destined to become, not a king, but a pretender.

The work of town improvement, so vigorously prosecuted within the present generation, dates something over a century back, although so long ago as 1673, in the mayoralty of John Lanyon, it is recorded that the debts of the town were paid, the streets cleansed, houses of office built on the quays, new pounds built, &c., whilst in the following year a fire engine with buckets was provided. Not long previously all the inhabitants had been ordered to put out a light nightly until nine o'clock from All Saints to the Purification. The streets had needed cleansing, for in 1634 they were so filthy that a royal writ was sent to require them to be put in decent order. These reforms, however, seem to have been of a spasmodic character; and probably the town was little the better for them after their novelty had worn off.

Towards the middle of the last century the powers that were appear to have been inspired by visions of rural loveliness. In 1737 elm trees were planted about the town, at Millbay, Pennycomequick Hill, Frankfort Gate, and other localities. Within the next twenty years the tide of improvement seems fairly to have set in. In 1753 the Horse-pond without

his infancy. The Plymouthian titular dignity was recreated in 1682 in favour of Lord Windsor, but became extinct on the death of the sixth earl.



Frankfort Gate was filled up, levelled, and planted with two rows of trees; rails, gates, and turnstiles erected on the Hoe, and towards the water side in various directions; and "a gutter made in Butcher's Lane—now Treville Street—to carry the water underground," or in plain English, a sewer. In the following year trees were planted on the Hoe by the "king's engineer." These are but trivial matters, but they seem to indicate that people were beginning to think that after all the old town was not quite what it might and should be. Soon after the accession of George III. the streets began to be paved, and lamps to be set up; and in the tenth year of that monarch the first of four special Acts for paving, lighting, and watching the town, and regulating the carmen and porters therein became law; the second and third following in quick succession, in 1773 and 1775 respectively.

These statutes were repealed in 1824 by an Act for the local improvement of the town, which established a body of Commissioners with power to levy rates to the amount of 2s. in the pound. By the Municipal Act the control of the watching was transferred to the Corporation, and the Commissioners limited to a 1s. 3d. rate, the average expenditure of the previous seven years, exclusive of the cost of watching; the average rate having been 1s. 6d. and the cost of watching 3d. In the twenty-eight years from 1824 to 1852 inclusive the Commissioners raised and expended in rates £140,322 9s., and incurred a debt of £15,000, chiefly for widening Treville Street. Some of the improvements commenced by them at the outset of their

career, notably the widening of Old Town Street, are yet uncompleted, and others have been carried out by the Local Board.

At length it was felt that the powers of the commissioners were inadequate to the wants of the town. The cholera had made great ravages, Plymouth ranking in point of unhealthiness and mortality the seventh town in England and Wales.\* The increasing death-rate had led (January, 1846) to a public meeting being called and a committee being appointed to make a systematic enquiry into the whole matter; and, subsequently, to the publication of a little serial entitled the *Plymouth Health of Towns Advocate* (the first number of which appeared in January, 1847), and the preparation of a very exhaustive and valuable report by the Rev. W. J. Odgers. At this time there were thirty streets in Plymouth without drainage, fifty only imperfectly drained, whilst two-thirds of the houses were in the same condition, the Commissioners' Act containing no power to compel persons to connect their premises with the sewers.

Under these circumstances an enquiry was directed by the General Board of Health into the condition of the town, and made accordingly by Mr. Robert Rawlinson, one of the inspectors of that body, in January, 1852. He did not make his report until the January succeeding, and in the interim application

\* Pestilence has frequently visited the town. In 1527 the sweating sickness raged; in 1579-80 1,600 people died of the plague; and in 1625 2,000, more than a third of the whole population. Cholera in 1832 carried off 1,031 people in the Three Towns, and in 1849 1,589. The annual death-rate has since the latter date been considerably decreased as the result of sanitary improvement.

was made to Parliament for a private Act repealing the old Improvement Act, and giving enlarged powers to a new body of commissioners. Mr. Rawlinson reported against this measure and in favour of the adoption of the Public Health Act; and in 1854 the Town Council was duly authorised to act as a local board, and the functions of the Commissioners ceased, their assets and liabilities being transferred to the new body. There was a good deal of controversy concerning the respective merits of the two schemes. Proceedings were taken against sixteen gentlemen who promoted the private Act, which resulted in their being saddled with very heavy costs, the greater portion of which was however defrayed by subscription. The worst result of the dissensions was the loss of the opportunity which then existed for improving George Street. The opening of the station of the South Devon Railway at Millbay gave this thoroughfare a business importance which it had not previously possessed. Nearly every house then had a small garden in front, part at least of which should have been thrown into the street. Instead of this these spaces were suffered to become covered with shops; and the Local Board now pay pounds to make infinitesimal improvements where twenty years ago substantial ones might almost have been made for shillings.\*

\* The improvement of the town under the Local Board will be treated of elsewhere. It was necessary, however, to trace here the course of events which led first to the establishment of the Commissioners and then to their extinction. The Court of Guardians originated in a charity, and are noticed in the chapter on charities.

## CHAPTER IX.

### RELIGION.

"Who with another's eye can read,  
Or worship by another's creed?  
Revering God's commands alone  
We humbly seek and use our own."—*Scott.*

"Of every race  
We nurse some portion in our favoured place,  
Not one warm creature of one growing sect,  
Can say our borough treats him with neglect."—*Crabbe.*

**P**LYMOUTH in the reign of Edward the Confessor was attached ecclesiastically to the collegiate church of St. Peter and Paul, at Plympton (the oldest religious foundation in the neighbourhood), to one of the prebends of which it and much of the surrounding ground, as already stated, belonged. When, after the Conquest, this foundation was suppressed, Bishop Warewast's substituted Augustinian priory entered into possession of most of the property of the older body, the ecclesiastical charge of Sutton included. The benefice is mentioned as such in the middle of the 12th century, and is clearly the oldest ecclesiastical foundation in the town. In the taxation of Pope Nicholas, 1288–91, the value of St. Andrew is set down at £5 6s. 8d. At the survey of 1535 the vicarage was valued as follows:—£10 tithe of fish; wool of lamb 65s.; personal tithes £8; hay 20s.; other tithes and

oblations £11 15s. 3d. The tithes were leased by the last Prior for £15 per annum.

As time rolled on various monastic bodies established themselves in Plymouth ; but there is very great uncertainty as to the number actually represented.

The Carmelites, or White Friars, founded a Friary in 1313. There was something uncanonical in their settlement which Bishop Stapledon overlooked at the recommendation of Edward II, a great patron of the body. Their buildings were of a very extensive character, and their church was adorned with a high steeple. In it the commission on the Scrope and Grosvenor controversy sat, January 26th, 1387. A seal of the body affixed to a deed, dated 1376, is of an oval form, and has for a device the Virgin standing, holding on her left arm the infant Saviour, with two kneeling figures below.\* The Friary occupied the site which still bears that name in Exeter Street. It passed through various hands after the dissolution, and was converted into an hospital for sick soldiers in the year 1794, when a great mortality prevailed among the troops detained at the port for the West India expedition. It was subsequently used as an infirmary for the troops stationed at Millbay and Frankfort Barracks. Portions were likewise occupied as dwellings, Friary Court not being one of the most aristocratic purlieus of Plymouth.

The exact date at which the Franciscans, or Grey Friars, established themselves in Plymouth is unknown. Having proceeded uncanonically to erect

\* Oliver's "Monasticon."

their Church in "Villa de Sutton juxta Plymouth," and having obtained its consecration by one John Berham who pretended to be Bishop of Naples, they were punished by Bishop Brantyngham, who laid the Church under an interdict. In 1383 license was granted by Richard II. to William Cole, John Fishacre, Gregory Couche, and Humphry Passour, to alienate six acres of land in Plymouth, held of him in chief, to the Friars Minors, for the purpose of erecting a Friary. The site was granted November 13th, 1546, to Giles and Gregory Iseham.\* It was in the lower part of the town, and there have been divers theories as to its exact position.

Leland remarks that St. Andrew Church stood by the "Grayes" in language that would seem to connect the Abbey on the south of that structure with the Franciscans. There is however some mention of a house of Grey Friars to the north of that church, which may have been intended. It seems probable that the Friary proper was in Southside Street. A portion of the ancient building, now removed, within the present century was used as a public-house, and known as the "Old Mitre." Oliver observes, "the Inn was entered from the street through a low arched doorway leading into a quadrangular court, having on the eastern side a cloister supported by twisted spiral pillars. At the end of this a staircase led to apartments formed out of the Convent Church. The lower part had been used as cellars for merchandise.†

\* Oliver.

† Mr. C. C. Prance considered the Old Palace in Catte Street to be part of the Franciscan Friary.—*Sketch of the History of Plymouth*.

An old building on the north of St. Andrew, which Haydon in his "History" calls a Hospital for Grey Friars, was at the commencement of this century occupied as a private house, having been previously used as a school. It has long been demolished. Some authorities incline to the belief that a few ancient doorways still remaining in Woolster and Vintry Streets belong to the house of the Grey Friars; and that others in Southside Street are the relics of a Monastery of Dominicans, or Black Friars. If however the Franciscans had six acres in this locality, there could have been very little room for their brethren. Nevertheless, the fact that a lane by the Distillery in Southside Street is called Blackfriars' Lane, strengthens the Dominican theory.

The Abbey, Finewell Street, is the only relic of the monastic establishments of old Plymouth which retains anything like its pristine appearance. After the dissolution it became private property, and was converted into a straw and wicker manufactory. At the beginning of the present century it was fitted for a dwelling-house and wine vaults, and is now used as a residence and wholesale grocery stores. It has been stated to have belonged to the Cistercians, but from its connexion with the church was in all probability an appendage, with it, of Plympton Priory.

There is some evidence that there were other buildings of a monastic character on the west of St. Andrew Church. In laying the foundations of the tower of the new Guildhall an ancient burial ground was discovered, evidently of extremely remote antiquity. This, there seems fair ground for assuming, was at-



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tached to some ecclesiastical establishment near at hand. Moreover, in pulling down, in 1869, the old almshouses of St. Andrew, which stood where the eastern end of the new public offices now is, a late Norman arch was discovered, evidently worked in from some older building when, in the sixteenth century, the houses were erected. This arch is of about fifty years later date than the remains of Plympton Priory, and is now preserved at the Athenæum. Lastly, during a suit promoted by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, vicar of St. Andrew, about the year 1637, in the Star Chamber against the Corporation, one of the points in dispute was the building of the Hospital of Orphans' Aid, where the vicar had anciently a house. These facts render it clear that the site of the Guildhall was occupied before the seventeenth century, and that the buildings thereon were at least partially ecclesiastical. Possibly they belonged to the Cistercians, seeing that the tradition of the presence of that order in the town is so strong.\*

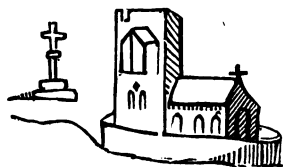
The Chantry Roll (1547) records the existence of a stipendiary at Plymouth, established by "— Dabnone and John Paynter to fynd a pryst to praye for the soules of the founders and mynystre dyvyne service in the quyer in y<sup>e</sup> parish cherch of Plynmouth. Paying unto Margaret Sommester, sometyme a wyf unto John Paynter, one of y<sup>e</sup> sayd founders, xvij s. yerely for her dowry, w<sup>h</sup> is deue unto her during her lyf." The value of the lands and possessions of the foundation is set down at £9 2s. 4d.

\* In the year 1298 the bailiffs of Plymouth were ordered not to allow any abbot or monk of the Cistercian order to quit England without a license from the crown.

At the same time there was a foundation called Goddeshowse for "impotent and lazare people," without any certain number, "at present but xiiij sometimes xx." Over and above the house this charity had the rents of certain lands, value £14 7s. It may be that this God's-house is the hospital referred to by Leland, who says, "Ther is an Hospitale House on the North side of the chirche," and that either it or a "goodly House of More Stone" which Thomas Yogge erected on the north of the churchyard was what Haydon calls an Hospital of Grey Friars. If the former it may have been appendant to that order. That the hospital, whatever its origin or nature, was closely connected with the church appears from a record in 1540, that Bishop Veysey had licensed service "in capella hospitalis cemeterium ecclesie parochialis de Plymouth" three times in the week. Elsewhere we read that in 1374 there was an hospital in Plymouth dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St. Mary Magdalene. This and God's-house may be identical. The fact that the fort raised during the civil war at North Hill was called Mawdlyn seems, however, to indicate some connexion between that locality and this foundation. In all likelihood either the Mawdlyn Hospital stood there, or the land formed part of its endowment. On the former supposition the hospital by the church would have a different origin and purpose.

Leland mentions that Yogge, the builder of St. Andrew tower, "the town finding the stuff," had erected a fair chapel on the north of St. Andrew; but unless this was the north transept, there is now

no vestige of the structure. The south aisle of St. Andrew was dedicated to the Virgin, and licensed on the 20th August, 1385 by Bishop Brantyngham. The north aisle was dedicated to St. John the Baptist in 1441. There are several notes relating to the fair chapel of St. Catherine upon the Hoe, of which Leland likewise speaks, from the patron saint of which some have derived the names Cattewater and Cattedown,\* and which is first mentioned by Bishop Brantyngham in 1370. It stood not far from the head of Hoegate Street, and was in use certainly down to nearly the end of the sixteenth century.



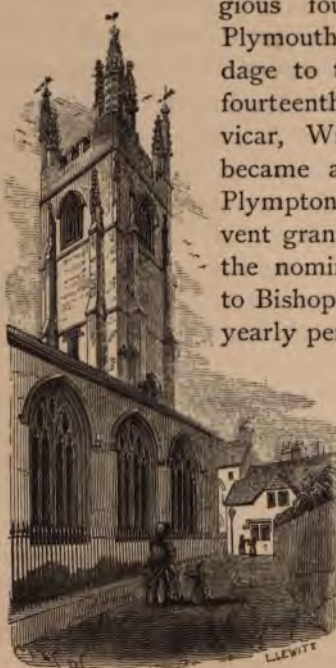
Ten pence were paid by the Corporation for "lathe nailes for mending the Howe chapple" in 1565, and 1s. 1d. for a rope for its bell in 1569. The engraving is a fac simile from an old chart, temp. Henry VIII. Of this edifice the Citadel Chapel may be regarded as the representative. There was a very ancient chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas upon Drake's Island. Originally the

\* This etymology is highly improbable. A far more likely derivation is from the Anglo Saxon *geotan*, whence gut, to pour or flow. In the Act-Charter, Cattewater is named the Catte of Hyngston—on this hypothesis equivalent to Hingston Straits—a rendering which would be fairly descriptive of the narrow passage between the unembanked Laira and the broad Sound. Hingston, the old name of Cattedown, is the same term as Stonehenge, and was possibly given in consequence of the existence there of a hanging stone or cromlech. Something of the sort appears to be intended in the old map from which the view of the chapel is taken. When the meaning of the old words was lost Cattewater and Cattedown sprung into existence.

island was called after St. Michael ; but the dedication of the chapel to St. Nicholas led to the name being changed, and the fame of Drake caused it eventually to be re-named for the second time with the appellation which it now popularly bears. The chapel was destroyed before the middle of the sixteenth century, a letter written concerning the fortification of the island in 1548 stating that it was plucked down to the foundation. It is mentioned by William of Worcester in his "Itinerary," 1478.

St. Andrew Church is now the only ancient religious foundation remaining in Plymouth. It continued an appendage to the Priory down to the fourteenth century. Its perpetual vicar, William de Wolley, then became a professed religious at Plympton, and the prior and convent granted (November 23, 1334) the nomination of an incumbent to Bishop Grandisson, saving their yearly pension of sixty marks. On the 23rd December following the bishop nominated Nicholas de Weyland, a canon of Plympton.

After the dissolution of the monasteries, the property of the Priory in Plymouth, the advowson of the church, and



the impropriate tithes were vested in the Corporation, and in their hands the presentation—first to St. Andrew, and then when the parish was divided to Charles also—remained until the Municipal Reform Act became law. By this measure municipal corporations were rendered incapable of holding advowsons, and they were accordingly sold. Before this date the mayor and commonalty used to appoint a lecturer to St. Andrew, who received a stipend of £70.

St. Andrew is the mother parish of all the churches of the Establishment in the towns of Plymouth and Stonehouse. It is held with Pennycross (curacy); and its vicar appoints to the vicarages of Christ Church, Holy Trinity, Stonehouse, and to St. Andrew Chapel. The advowson belongs to the Church Patronage Society. From the existence of two ancient carved stone heads of the Virgin and St. Andrew, which once formed part of the old parish church of Stoke, some connection may be presumed also between St. Andrew and that parish. This,



however, is purely conjectural, as the date and dedication of the church at Stoke are both unknown. A farm at St. Budeaux is described as being within the parish of Plymouth in 1438. East Stonehouse remained an integral portion down to a much later period.

There were formerly guilds attached to St. Andrew. A record concerning Church Ales, in connection with the Guild of Corpus Christi, sets forth: "For the honor of God, and for the encreasing of the benefittes

of the Church of Seynt Andrewe of Plymouthe, It is agreed by the Mayre xii. and xxiii. sworne to the councell of the Burghe of Plymouthe, that in the Feast of Corporis Xti. every Warde of the said Burghe shall from henceforthe this the xth daye of June, make an *Hale* yn the Parishe Church Yarde of Seynte Andrewe aforesaide ; and every person of the said wardes to bring with theym, except Brede and Drinke, such vytayle as they like best. And have there such and as many persons, estraungers, as they thinke best of theyr friends and acquaynted men and women, for the encreasing of the sayde Ile ; paying for brede and ale as it cometh thereto in rekening for theyr dyners and sopers the same day, etc. Item, it is agreed, that every taverne of Wyne and Ale within the said Burghe do forbear theyre sale the same daye of theyre wyne and ale, for the well of the said Church: every person of the xii. upon payne of vi.s. viii.d., and every of the xxiii. iii.s. iiiii.d., and every of the commoners one pound of waxe, or the value of the same, to the said churches behoufe. And he or they doing the contrary at the Mayre, xii. and the xxiv., is wylled to stand in jupardye of his fredome; and to paye the said fyne : and every fyne or fynes so forfayte to be levyed by the Mayre for the tyme being, within iiiii. dayes after the said feaste ; and in his defaulte to be levyed of his fee. And upon the audyte thereof, item, the Mayre for the tyme, being allwayes in his owne Warde in the Hall so made for hym and his Warde, &c. Item, that the xii. and the xxiii. aide and helpe the Mayre to levy the said paynes forfayte at every yere and tyme therto called.

Item, that no person that shall goe about with the Shipp of Corpis Xti. bring no body there but himselfe to charge the yle. Item, that they make a rekenyng to every person for mete and drinke, and notte to paye at theyr leasure. Item, that every Ile from hensforthe for the welthe of the Churche in tyme comyng be accomptabyle afore the Mayre, the xii. and the xxiii. in the Gyldehall of the Burghes afore-saide, and the debet of every of theym to be sett in the legger of the said Towe entered; and the said debet to be atte the Mayre xii. and xxiii. disposicion in every yere and tyme for the welthe of the said Churche." The record then goes on to lay down certain regulations for the assuring every freeman to be present, or pay his fine, and for other purposes.

The register of St. Andrew commences in 1581, the first entry, under May 10th, being the baptism of "Fraunces the sonne of Mr. William Hawkynges," and a nephew of Admiral John. There are few entries having any peculiar interest attached to them. From Sept., 1653, down to Sept., 1662, the register was kept by Henry Champlin, who was appointed by the parish, and approved by the mayor.\* During this period entries of "contracts" occur.

Mr. Michael Solomon Alexander, who had been reader in the Jewish Synagogue, was baptized in St. Andrew Church, by the Rev. John Hatchard, on June 22nd, 1825. Alexander afterwards became Bishop of Jerusalem. Within living memory, the church was the scene of an excommunication. A lieutenant of

\* Nearly two centuries before, in 1490, the mayor had made a bye law to regulate the use of garments in the church.



the navy, named Southcote, was formally excommunicated therein, for not putting in a proper reply to a citation from the Archdeacon's Court of Totnes.

Down to nearly the middle of the seventeenth century the parish of St. Andrew included the entire town. In consequence of the want of accommodation for the whole of the inhabitants in the old church, a petition was presented to the king in 1634 praying him to grant permission for the building of a new church on a spot called the Coney or Gayer's Yard, which had been given by John Hele, of Wembury, for the purpose. Letters patent were accordingly passed granting the prayer of the petition; and in 1640 the parish of Charles was formally constituted by Act of Parliament as soon as the new church should be built. The Act recapitulates the grant to the Corporation by Queen Elizabeth of the advowson of the vicarage of St. Andrew, and of a pension of £8 issuing out of the same; and confirms the license granted by the king to the mayor and commonalty to build the new church, to set forth the boundaries of the new parish, and to prefer a vicar to it, as they had hitherto done to the old one. The mayor and commonalty on their part undertook to build the church, to allow £20 a year to a schoolmaster there, and to maintain an hospital for the use and relief of poor persons within the parish.

The erection of the church commenced soon after the date of the Act, but the civil war and the siege delayed its progress. In 1643, when operations were suspended for a while, it had reached the roof. In 1646 the work was resumed again, but slowly, and the

building was not completed for divine worship until 1658: the tower is dated 1657. It was dedicated in 1666. The first spire, which was covered with lead, was built in 1707-8, and a few years later a clock with chimes was given to the church by Colonel Jory. This spire was taken down; and the present stone one was erected in 1767. The register commences in 1644 with entries of marriage. Baptisms appear in the succeeding year, and burials in the next again.

The parish has been and is now frequently called Charles the Martyr, and sometimes St. Charles, from a belief that it was dedicated to the monarch in whose reign it was commenced, whereas it is simply named after him. It is held with the curacy of Compton Gifford, about to be erected into a separate district; and the vicar presents to Charles Chapel. The advowson belongs to the Rev. E. Holland. Familiarly St. Andrew is still called Old Church and Charles New Church.

If we may trust Browne Willis, early in the last century the vicars of the two parishes used to derive a considerable portion of their income from the compulsory use of palls, the loan of which was charged for according to the quality of the deceased, 2s. 6d., 5s., or 10s. From him too we learn that the Westwell Street burial ground was originally intended for "common people." "The poor," he says, "have a separate burial place next the fields appropriated to that use."

Defoe, in his "*Journey through England*" (1723), remarks that at that period "the clerks of St. Andrew and Charles were obliged to be in deacon's orders, in

order to assist in baptizing, marrying, burying, and administering the sacrament;" and that the pews were bought and sold as chambers were at the Inns of Court, and the profits applied to the parish. It was in fact the practice to lease them for lives. Church rates were done away with nearly forty years ago, none having been levied since 1834.

There is no complete list of the vicars of St. Andrew extant. The most distinguished holder of the office in point of dignity was Cardinal Hadrian, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who resigned the benefice in 1509. The following lists of the vicars of the two parishes are believed to be reliable so far as they go :

## ST. ANDREW.

			Appointed
Henry Wallis	.	.	1602
— Upham *	.	.	1603
Alexander Crosse	.	.	1632
Dr. Aaron Wilson†	.	.	1633 (?)

\* This must have been the minister of Plymouth who is recorded in "Yonge's Diary" to have been walking with a French minister upon the Hoe on the 10th January, 1622, and to have seen "three clouds, which clouds seemed to come and meet together; at their meeting one of them brake, and gave a great noise as if it had been a cannon; after the second brake, and gave two sounds as of two cannons; then the third brake, and gave the noise as if it had been the noise of cannons in a set battle, with a whistling in the air as if bullets had been shot out of a piece. There was a thunderbolt seen at Plympton to fall from thence into the ground, which weighed by report viii. lbs."

† Wilson was Archdeacon and Canon of Exeter. Soon after the commencement of the civil war he was sent away prisoner in a ship to Portsmouth, but was afterwards released, and died at Exeter in 1643. He was succeeded by his curate, Thomas Bedford, who according to Walker was thrown into gaol and sent to London because he preached an honest sermon. The same authority tells us that one Hobbes, the parish clerk, being in deacon's orders, having buried a corpse by the

*VICARS OF THE TWO PARISHES.*

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	Appointed
Thomas Bedford . . .	1643
George Hughes . . .	1644
Dr. Ashton . . .	1663
H. Greensworth . . .	1667
Canon Gilbert . . .	1680
W. Stephens . . .	1722
Dr. Mudge . . .	1731
J. Gandy . . .	1769
John Hatchard . . .	1824
C. T. Wilkinson . . .	1870

CHARLES.

Francis Porter . . .	1646
Francis Collier . . .	1675
Thomas Martin . . .	1690
Charles Monkton, D.D.* . . .	1711
Nathaniel Boughton . . .	1725
William Brent . . .	1748
John Bedford . . .	1759
Dr. Hawker . . .	1784
James Carne . . .	1827
Septimus Courtney . . .	1832
Charles Greenhall Davies . . .	1843
Sir Cecil Bisshop . . .	1845
Henry Addington Greaves . . .	1846

A hundred years ago the provision for religious worship in Plymouth consisted of the two churches, and eight chapels and meeting-houses unconnected with the Establishment. Fifty years since the Church

common prayer, was told that if he came there with his mass-book to bury anyone again he should be thrown into the same grave, and that fear and grief produced his death.

\* In reference to the appointment on the vacation of the living by Dr. Monkton a controversy arose, and an illegal appointment of a Mr. Hugoe was made by the mayor, William Roche, who broke open the chest to get at the seals in the absence of a majority of the aldermen. For this he was removed ; his protege retired.

accommodation had not increased, but three dissenting chapels had been added. The next five-and-twenty years showed a marked advance. There were at the expiration of that period six Established places of worship, and twenty others. There are now (including the Citadel and Emmanuel Churches) thirteen churches and chapels connected with the Church of England, and twenty-eight others; the Independents having six; the Wesleyans four; the Baptists three; the Calvinists two; and the other bodies represented one each. These figures show the numbers of distinct buildings used specially for religious worship, and do not include places where cottage or occasional services are held.

The census returns of 1851, as arranged by Mr. Horace Mann, present the following statement of the provision for religious worship in Plymouth at that date:—

	Places of Worship.	Free.	SITTINGS.			ATTENDANTS ON WORSHIP		
			Apprtd.	Total.		Sunday, Morn.	March 30th, Aft.	Evng.
Church of England	10	3891	4824	9615		6086	1642	5074
Independents	5	736	2232	2968		1517	62	1440
Particular Baptists	1	329	707	1036		797	114	569
Friends	1	400	—	400		60	30	—
Unitarians	2	168	506	674		213	—	209
Wesleyan Methodists	5	810	1466	2276		1487	78	1363
Bible Christians	1	88	540	628		279	203	401
Wesleyan Association	1	136	172	308		77	—	44
Isolated Congregatns.	10	2450	3050	5500		2527	853	3342
Catholic Apostolic	1	250	—	250		83	50	60
Jews	1	—	150	150		50	24	4
Totals	38	9258	13647	23805		13176	3056	12542

The proportion of sittings to population was thus 45·6, and the additional number required to provide for 58 per cent. of the population was 6483. There

were not thirty-eight distinct churches and chapels, some of the isolated congregations meeting in rooms.\*

The first addition to the church accommodation in the town from the time of the erection of Charles Church was the building in 1823 of St. Andrew Chapel, at a cost of £5,000, and at the joint expense of the Rev. Robert Lampen, Messrs. H. Woollcombe, J. Pridham, and T. Gill. Mr. Foulston was the architect. The death of Dr. Hawker next led to the erection of Charles Chapel for the Rev. Septimus Courtney, who had been the doctor's curate. The chapel was built in 1828-9 from designs by Mr. Ball, at a cost of £4,000. St. Peter, at Eldad, was built about the same time for the Rev. J. Hawker. Mr. Hawker, who had been curate of Stoke Damerel for upwards of thirty years, during the latter part of the non-resident rectorship of the Rev. T. Williamson, ceased to be connected with the parish after the presentation of the living to the present rector, the Rev. W. J. St. Aubyn, in 1828. A public meeting called to consider ways and means for providing him a chapel resulted in the subscription of £3,000 for that purpose in two hours, Mrs. Hudson giving £1,000, and Mrs. Croad £500. The building was never consecrated during Mr. Hawker's lifetime, that gentle-

\* Mr. J. D. Tuckett, in a "History of the Past and Present State of the Labouring Population," published by Mr. Edward Nettleton, in 1846, estimated the church and chapel accommodation in the town at that date in twenty-five places of worship, at 15,350, and the attendance at 9,360. Mr. Tuckett's "History" is contained in two large octavo volumes, and presents a large number of facts of the most varied character bearing on the question in a fairly systematic form. There is much curious and interesting reading in the work.

man having left the church in consequence of the concession of Catholic Emancipation. The cost was £5,000. In 1848 it was licensed, and in 1850 consecrated, as the church of the new parish of St. Peter. The Miss Middletons are the patrons. In 1832 the Rev. J. Hatchard, then vicar of St. Andrew, opened a part of the old Victualling Office, near the Emigration Depôt, as a mariners' church. This subsequently developed into what is now the parish of the Holy Trinity. Trinity Church was commenced in 1840, and consecrated in 1842. Christ Church came next, being erected in 1845-6, from designs by Mr. Wightwick. St. John, Sutton-on-Plym (architect Mr. Ferrey), was opened in 1855. The Crown and Bishop present alternately. St. James was consecrated, unfinished, in 1861. Mr. J. B. Wilcocks is the patron. All these with St. Peter are churches of new parishes, taken out of the old ones under Sir Robert Peel's Act. The movement which led to their formation originated in an appeal by the late Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Phillpotts, in which he set forth what was considered the great spiritual destitution of Plymouth and Devonport. Ten years since a small mission chapel school, in Octagon Street, was opened in connection with St. Peter. It is now intended to divide this parish again, and to erect a church for the new district, to be called All Saints, upon the Barley House Estate, which since the death of Colonel Elliott, its owner, has been laid out as building land, and is now half-covered with houses.

In 1870 two other places of worship in connection with the Establishment were consecrated. Emmanuel,



which is the church of a new district comprising the tything of Compton Gifford, the extra-municipal section of the vicarage of Charles; and St. Saviour, at present a Chapel of Ease to Trinity, but hereafter intended to be the church of a new district of that name. Emmanuel, a portion of which has yet to be erected, is a Gothic edifice of a very ornate character designed by Mr. Reid, and cost £3,000. St. Saviour is a very plain structure, and cost about £1,600.

Mr. Gill, owner of the Western Hoe, built a school chapel there for the use of the families of his workmen, which was licensed in 1835. It has been many years discontinued.

Plymouth is the seat of the oldest of the various sisterhoods connected with the English Church—that of which Miss Sellon is the head. Originally established in a house in Milne Place, Morice Town, it is still called the Devonport Society. Statements concerning the working of the sisterhood caused the bishop in 1849 to hold an inquiry into its character and operations. His lordship not only exonerated Miss Sellon, the lady superior, but wished her God speed. Much controversy arose throughout the country concerning the alleged Romish nature of the society, and the Devonport Sisters of Mercy became famous from one end of the land to the other. In 1850 the foundation-stone of the Abbey in the North Road was laid; and it is now the head-quarters of the society, which has ramifications in many parts of England, and also abroad. The sisterhood has large schools and a house of refuge on the premises. The Abbey is in the new parish of St. Peter, the use in which of what



are now known as High Church or Ritualistic practices—then denominated Tractarian or Puseyite—by its Incumbent, the Rev. G. R. Prynne, led to an inquiry by the bishop in September, 1852, with regard to the question of confession, and was the fruitful source of controversy and pamphleteering.

Nonconformity in Plymouth dates back to the early days of the seventeenth century, when there existed a mixed congregation of Independents and Baptists, from which the Baptist church, now assembling in George Street and Mutley Plain chapels, descends.\* The exact date of the formation of this community cannot be ascertained, but it was "most probably between the years 1620 and 1640." It has been suggested, and with a fair show of probability, that some of the "divers friends" who "kindly entertained and courteously used the Pilgrim Fathers" in the year 1620 were among the first members of this Nonconforming church, which can thus point to a history of two centuries and a half, and is, with one exception, the oldest dissenting society in the West of England. The exception is the little General Baptist (Unitarian) Church at Moretonhampstead, which is believed to date from the sixteenth century, and to be the last survivor of a few Anabaptist communities scattered over the West in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, suffering dire persecution equally from both.

The earliest known records of the Baptist Church of Plymouth commence in the year 1648, when Abraham Cheare was baptized, who in the following year

\* Nicholson's "Authentic Records of the Church at George Street, Plymouth."

became its first recorded pastor. It is not known where the church, which consisted of 150 members, then met; but in 1651 they purchased a piece of ground in the Pig-market, now Bedford Street, and built a meeting-house. Cheare was a man of sincere piety and great ability, and was exposed to many persecutions. In 1661 he was sent to Exeter gaol on a charge of encouraging religious assemblies, and remained there three months. In 1662 he was again incarcerated, the charge being "that he held unlawful assemblies, and refused to conform to the laws of the Established Church." In 1665 he was released, and returned to Plymouth; but almost immediately thereupon he was again arrested, and lodged in the Guildhall, where he remained a month. He was then sentenced to perpetual banishment on Drake's Island. This place at that time was used as a state prison, and among the notables confined there were Colonel Lilburne and the celebrated parliamentary General Lambert. The latter died there. Here Cheare likewise remained till he died on the 5th of March, 1668. The passing of the Conventicle Act caused the Baptist meeting-house to be shut up, until the Act of Indulgence in 1687 enabled Nonconformists once more to meet in public. From this period the church underwent many vicissitudes, and was once reduced so low as eight members. Prosperity came with the acceptance of the pastorate by the Rev. P. Gibbs, in the middle of the last century, and in 1751 the meeting-house was rebuilt. Thirty years subsequently a branch of the cause was established at Dock by the erection of the Baptist Chapel in Pembroke

(then Liberty) Street. In 1789 the chapel in the Pig-market was given up for the one in How Street, now occupied by a Baptist congregation under the ministry of the Rev. J. Collins. Attached to this place of worship, whilst used for Baptist purposes, is an endowment of £25 yearly from Dean's Charity.\*

In 1793 Mr. Gibbs's co-pastor, the Rev. William Winterbottom, was tried at Exeter for using seditious language in two sermons, one of which was preached according to custom, in commemoration of the Revolution of 1688, on the 5th of November, the day of the landing of William of Orange. The language used by him would have excited no attention in the present day, but by the aid of misrepresentation it was twisted into the semblance of sedition, and Mr. Winterbottom was sentenced to four years' imprisonment, to pay £200 fine, and to give £900 security for five years. The imprisonment was undergone and the fine paid, and Mr. Winterbottom resumed his position in the church at Plymouth.† The church subsequently declined again, but entered upon a fresh career of prosperity with the pastorate of the Rev. Samuel Nicholson in 1823. In 1845 How Street was abandoned for the chapel in George Street, which was erected at a cost exceeding £5,000; and in 1869 the new chapel on Mutley Plain was opened, having been erected at an expenditure of £8,000.

\* At Mr. Gibbs's funeral, 5th December, 1800, the pall was borne by Dr. Hawker and another clergyman, with four Independent and two Baptist ministers.

† His grandson is now M.P. for Stroud, to which neighbourhood Mr. Winterbottom removed on finally leaving Plymouth in 1804. He is also a member of the Government.

The Friends congregation comes next in seniority to the Baptist. The oldest record in its possession is dated 1669. The "Abstract of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers" has, however, several entries referring to Plymouth between the years 1650 and 1660, the earliest being dated in 1655. In May of that year Miles Halhead and Thomas Salthouse came from the North of England to Devonshire to visit their friends in prison, and arriving at Plymouth on the 16th of that month, had "several peaceable meetings there in Friends' houses." These led to the first public meeting in connexion with the body being held in the garden of "one John Harris near the town." A drunken naval chaplain attended the meeting and approved the preaching, but did not approve a hint to combine works with faith, and accordingly complained to the mayor. This resulted in Salthouse and Halhead being committed to the assizes as disturbers of the public peace and for "diverse other high misdemeanours against a late proclamation, prohibiting the disturbing of Ministers and other Christians in their assemblies and meetings." (They had been disturbed at their own!) They were fined £5 each, and, refusing to pay, were imprisoned seven months. In the same year one Margaret Killam was imprisoned for speaking to the mayor upon religious matters. In the following year Priscilla Cotton, Margaret Cole, and Katherine Martindale were incarcerated "for speaking to the Priest and People in the steeple house at Plymouth (St. Andrew) after the Priest had ended his sermon;" and Barbara Pattison was similarly treated for "speaking to a Priest whil-

he was preaching a Funeral sermon." John Evans had a harder fate in October, 1658. For speaking to the people in "a steeple house at Plymouth" (possibly Charles Church) he was imprisoned and whipped through the town, after he had been kept naked three-quarters of an hour from the waist upwards. Fox visited Plymouth in 1663, being accompanied from Kingsbridge by Mr. Henry Pollexfen, an ancient justice of the peace, probably one of the Plymouth Pollexfens. The present meeting-house in Bilbury Street was built in 1804, at a cost of £1,200, upon the site of a former one, which had been erected some sixty years. At one time the Friends met in a low thatched building which stood at the head of Sussex Street, next the Hoe, on the east, whilst the garden attached to a cottage on the opposite side of the lane—for it was nothing more—was used as a burial ground. These buildings remained, until demolished in consequence of the extension of building operations in that locality. Not many years since a number of skeletons were dug up in the old burial ground, and were removed to the present yard behind the chapel. It has been suggested that it was in this cottage and garden Salhouse and Halhead held their first meeting.

Two of the early Quakers, Killin and Pattison, addressed the good people of Plymouth in print. They issued in 1655 a tract entitled, "A Warning from the Lord to the Teachers and People of Plymouth, with a few queries to the parish teachers of the nation that have great sums of money for teaching the people. From them which are scornfully



called Quakers, but witness the teaching of Christ." It contains a "warning to corrupt magistrates who are persecuting the innocent and the just; witness your practices at Exeter prison."

Two Dissenting congregations originated directly in the memorable year 1662, and a third perpetuates the name of one of the leaders of those days. The two are the Unitarian of Treville Street and the Independent of Batter Street, both formerly known by the name Presbyterian. The third is that which once met in Norley, but now assembles in Sherwell Chapel. Five clergymen connected with Plymouth were silenced at the English Bartholomew. Mr. G. Hughes, vicar of St. Andrew; Mr. Obadiah Hughes his son, then studying at Oxford; Mr. Thomas Martyn, lecturer at St. Andrew; Mr. Samuel Martyn his son, an occasional preacher; and Mr. Nicholas Sherwell. That there was a very strong feeling in Plymouth in their favour is clear, among the maritime population especially, several of the old sea captains being "determined that the common prayer should not come into Mr. Hughes's church," and being strengthened in their opposition by the Baptists and Friends. Mr. Hughes, sen., who was the immediate founder of the congregation now Unitarian, was one of Cheare's companions in captivity at Drake's Island, with Mr. Thomas Martyn. Hughes was imprisoned nine months, when, being attacked with dropsy and scurvy, he was released upon giving £2000 security not to come within twenty miles of Plymouth. Accordingly he retired to Kingsbridge, where he died on the 9th July, 1667. He was buried in the chancel

there, in the tomb in which the remains of the Rev. G. Geffery had been deposited twenty-seven years before. Crispin, founder of the Grammar School at Kingsbridge, erected a monument to the memory of Hughes, which bears a Latin inscription from the pen of Howe. The first part of the epitaph has been translated: "To the redolent, immortal, and ever-to-be-respected memory of that most excellent man, George Hughes, B.D., late of Plymouth, highly vigilant to unfold the hidden truths of the Holy Scriptures; to incline mankind by his preaching, the Almighty by his prayers, being particularly learned; who like the luminary of day, auspiciously commencing his career in the east (having received his birth in London), thence beamed a star in the west for a long time, diffusing light on every side by his life, and wailing by his death. His earthly course (truly useful) having been extended to sixty-four years, contributing good and enduring ill, he at length found pure rest—for his soul in the skies, his body in the grave beneath—on the 9th day of July, in the year of grace, 1667, with his fellow-pastor, long most dear, George Geffery, A.M., whose remains thrice nine years before were deposited in the same place, and being first turned to dust are now to mingle with fresh ashes."

Hughes may be regarded as the leader of the Puritan party in Devonshire. His name is the first signed to "The Joint Testimonie of the Ministers of Devon" to the ministers of the province of London, to which are also inscribed the names of Francis Porter and Thomas Trevers, ministers of Plymouth.

Hughes was one of the preachers before Parliament.

Sherwell is presumed to have been the more immediate founder of the Batter Street congregation, although at first there appears to have been a general community of interest among the followers of the ejected confessors.\* The chapel register of the Unitarian body commences only three months after Bartholomew day, with a baptism by Mr. Sherwell, by whom after a short interval it was brought down to 1697. There are also records of baptisms by Mr. Thomas Martyn from 1672. Many are stated to have been performed at the "Old Marshalls," and others at "Greene House," near Charles Church, in Green Street. The first marriage recorded was in 1662. The first chapel built was by the predecessors of the Unitarian body on the site of the present edifice, then an open spot surrounded by gardens. Batter Street Chapel (remodelled and renovated in 1870), was built in 1705, and is the oldest dissenting place of worship in Plymouth.† For nearly half a century the two congregations were upon friendly, indeed intimate, terms, and the ministers used frequently to exchange pulpits. At length the development of Arian (subsequently Unitarian) views, in the Treville Street congregation, led to a secession from its ranks to Batter Street, whilst subsequently those at Batter Street, who did not favour the Calvinistic doctrines

\* Murch's "History of the Presbyterian Churches."

† It is the oldest likewise in the West of England, with the exception of the Unitarian Chapel at Tavistock, which was the refectory of the Old Abbey.



predominant there, withdrew to Treville Street. The Unitarian Chapel was rebuilt in 1832.

Union Chapel, Courtenay Street, is to be regarded as an offshoot from the Batter Street Chapel, which at one time there was some talk of abandoning on account of its great age, and the inconveniences of its situation. Union Chapel was erected by the Rev. T. C. Hine, who had been pastor of Batter Street, in 1847-8, at an outlay of £2,000. In the field of which the site forms part, Whitfield is recorded to have preached.

The Jewish community of Plymouth dates from the earlier part of the last century. About the year 1740 several Hebrew families settled in the town, and formed a congregation in Broad Hoe Lane. The Synagogue, in Catherine Street, was built in 1764.

Both forms of Methodism were introduced into Plymouth much about the same time. Whitfield paid his first visit to Plymouth in 1744, when he came with the intention of embarking for America. Calvinistic Methodism was however established in the town by Mr. Andrew Kinsman, a native of Tavistock, who had been converted by reading one of Whitfield's sermons, and who liberally contributed to the building of the Old Tabernacle in Briton Side (Exeter Street), of which he subsequently became the minister. A few years later, in 1752, Mr. Kinsman built the first dissenting chapel at Devonport, to which he removed. Upon one occasion whilst he was preaching in the Old Tabernacle, it is recorded that a party of seamen, led by their lieutenant, broke in with intent to put out the lights and "castigate the

congregation." Kinsman however turned the tables by seizing their leader and bringing him before the magistrates. Next in antiquity among the Plymouth dissenting chapels to that in Batter Street, and like it lately renovated, the Old Tabernacle, now approaching the venerable age of seven score years, was at first called the Tabernacle simply. It obtained its distinctive name, when, in 1797, after the death of its founder, the Independent Chapel in Norley Lane (now Norley Street) was built at a cost of £1050, and called, as an offshoot from the elder place of worship, the New Tabernacle, a name long since dropped. The Old Tabernacle a few years ago was occupied by a society of Wesleyan Association Methodists. It is now, as of old time, Independent.

By the Norley Street congregation Sherwell Chapel, the handsomest and costliest Nonconformist edifice in Plymouth, was erected. The site, purchased from the Corporation, at one time formed part of the Sherwell estate, and from this circumstance, in conjunction with the fact that Mr. Nicholas Sherwell was one of the ejected of 1662, the name of the structure was derived. The Chapel was commenced in September, 1862, and opened in September, 1864. It cost with the land upwards of £8000. The organ, a gift from a member of the congregation, and the finest in any dissenting place of worship in the West of England, is worth another £1000. Mount Street Chapel is a mission in connexion with Sherwell. Norley Chapel was closed for a time after the removal to Sherwell, but was subsequently re-opened in 1866 by a section of the congregation.

Plymouth has a College belonging to the Independent body, and affiliated to the London University. The Western College was established as an academy for the instruction of ministerial students, in 1752, by the Congregational Fund Board. In its early days it was under the direction of various Independent ministers, located in different parts of Devonshire. At length it was removed from Exminster to Exeter, and after some years' sojourn in that city, again removed in 1844 to Plymouth. Here it was carried on upon premises in Wyndham Place for several years. It was then decided to provide it with a permanent habitation, and in April, 1860, the foundation stone of the present handsome pile of Collegiate buildings at Mannamead was laid. They were opened in June, 1861. The contract price was £4973.

The history of the progress of Wesleyan Methodism in Plymouth may be taken as a fair illustration of the way in which that religious body has expanded from the smallest beginnings into its present gigantic proportions. The first Wesleyan organization—a class—was formed in Plymouth in 1745. Then followed occasional preaching on the Parade, in Catte Street, Batter Street, under a tree in Briton Side; in the Old Mitre, Southside Street; in a Moravian preaching place on the site of the Exchange in Woolster Street, and in the Old Tabernacle. Wesley paid the first of his numerous visits to the West in September, 1746, and then preached both at Plymouth and at Dock. In 1779 the foundation stone was laid of the first Wesleyan chapel in the Three Towns, in Lower Street, premises a few years since occupied by the

Working Men's Association. Mr. Redstone, carpenter, R.N., and Mr. Nehemiah Jane, quartermen in the Dockyard, the chief agents in this good work, became involved in difficulties. In 1792 Mr. Philip Shepheard laid the first stone of Wesley Chapel in Mr. Prideaux's garden in Mud Lane, now Buckwell Lane, the oldest existing Wesleyan place of worship in Plymouth. It was opened in the following year, and to it were removed the fittings of the Lower Street Chapel, which was sold in 1806. In 1815 Wesley Chapel had become so crowded that the erection of Ebenezer Chapel was commenced. It was then hoped that both places of worship could be kept open, but the decline in prosperity and in population immediately consequent upon the peace, led to the closing of Wesley Chapel. From that date until 1846 this latter place of worship was let in succession to Messrs. Denham, Todd, Triggs, Richards, and others. By Mr. Denham, who was a General Baptist, it was named Rehoboth. At length in 1846, Ebenezer Chapel being fully let, Wesley was taken in hand again, and was reopened in Sept., 1847. The Stonehouse Wesleyan Chapel, which belongs to the circuit, was erected soon after Ebenezer, and in 1828 Salem Chapel was built. Ebenezer and Stonehouse Chapels were at different times enlarged, but the accommodation becoming increasingly insufficient, in 1864 Mr. John Allen laid the foundation stone of the King Street Wesleyan Chapel. Wesley preached in the Lower Street Chapel on the 17th and 18th of August, 1780.

The oldest represented of the various offshoots of Wesleyan Methodism is the Bible Christian body,

which dates from 1818. Its present chapel in Zion Street was erected in 1847. The United Methodist Free Church society, originally Wesleyan Association, acquired the large chapel in Ebrington Street, formerly belonging to the Plymouth Brethren, in 1862, and named it Hope Chapel. It had previously assembled for nearly twenty years in the Old Tabernacle. The Primitive Methodists are of more recent appearance in the town, and occupy a little chapel in Ebrington Street, which has been used in turn by several denominations.

Plymouth has given a distinct name to a community of Christians who call themselves the Brethren, but are generally known by the name Plymouth Brethren. Nevertheless the movement did not absolutely originate in the town. It appears to have first assumed definite form in Dublin, on the suggestion of Mr. A. N. Groves, of Exeter, in the setting apart every Lord's day for the breaking of bread in remembrance of Christ. This was about the year 1829, and the meeting at Plymouth, which became the centre and fount of Brethrenism, was commenced in 1831. The two most prominent members of the society in its early days were Mr. B. W. Newton, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and the Rev. J. N. Darby, a minister of the Irish Church, the first of whom was resident for some years at Plymouth. The Rev. J. L. Harris, incumbent of Plymstock, and Mr. H. W. Soltau were also prominently identified with the movement. In 1845, a difference of views between Mr. Newton and Mr. Darby led to the first open division in the body, since which others



have occurred. The first special meeting-place used by the brethren at Plymouth was what is now the Temperance Hall, in Raleigh Street, of which, although sold to the Temperance Society, a section retains the Sunday use. Later the large "room" in Ebrington Street, now the chapel of the United Methodist Free Church Society, was erected. As the transfer of these buildings indicates, the Brethren are by no means so numerous in Plymouth as they formerly were. Two or three of their sections however meet regularly for worship, and some of the body preach in places rented for the purpose, to which all are welcomed; but without forming any distinct community or society. This is not the place to enter into an exposition of the peculiar tenets of Brethrenism, nor if it were would the task be at all an easy one. Horace Mann states as their fundamental *raison d'être*, that they "may be represented as consisting of all such as, practically holding all the truths essential to salvation, recognize each other as on that account alone true members of the only Church. They do not believe in human forms or systems, or ordained ministries. They break bread weekly; and some of them consider their assemblies under the guidance solely of the Holy Ghost."

Trinity Chapel (York Street) was erected as a High Calvinist place of worship for Mr. Arthur Triggs in 1828. In 1857-8 there were disputes as to its ownership, which led to one party taking possession by force and barring the other out, so that they were compelled to hold service in the open air outside. Legal proceedings followed.

The Catholic Apostolic (Irvingite) body established a church in Plymouth not long after it originated. The present chapel in Princess Street was rebuilt recently on the site of a plain building which had been occupied for a dozen years.

The Universalist congregation, now meeting in Henry Street, worshipped previously in Park and Ebrington Street Chapels; and its late minister, the Rev. Mr. Seabrook, fifty years since officiated in a meeting-house in Richmond Street.\* Universalist opinions have long been professed in the town.

The chapel in Portland Villas—Free Evangelical—was built by the Rev. J. Babb, formerly a clergyman of the Church of England, in 1844. It forms the under portion of one of the houses.

When Pope Pius IX. decided upon establishing the present Roman Catholic hierarchy in England, Plymouth was selected as the seat of one of the new dioceses. The first priest who is known to have ministered in Plymouth after the Reformation was the Rev. Edward Williams, who was settled at the seat of Mr. Richard Chester, in Buckland-tout-Saints, and who occasionally visited Plymouth to attend to the spiritual wants of the few and scattered Catholics then to be found there. This was a century since. The first missionary station in the Three Towns was established at Devonport, in a room over a stable behind the "George Inn," by the Rev. Thomas Flynn, an Irish Franciscan. He was succeeded by the Rev.

\* Some old chapels have been abandoned as such. There was one called Philadelphia Chapel in Willow Street; and a small Calvinist Chapel (Zoar) in Octagon Street.

Louis Guilbert, a French emigrè, who, being unable to obtain a site for a chapel at Devonport, built and opened in 1806-7 that in St. Mary Street, Stonehouse. The rapid growth of the Three Towns, and the equally rapid increase of their Irish population, rendered the accommodation of this edifice utterly inadequate. Soon after the bishopric was established it was decided to erect the present cathedral in Cecil Street. The foundation stone was laid in June, 1856, by Dr. Vaughan, the chief promoter of the work; and nearly twelve months afterwards operations were delayed by the unfortunate falling in of a considerable portion of the building. The spire is a later addition. The cathedral is dedicated to the Virgin and St. Boniface. Adjoining, on the south, is the bishop's residence, and on the west a large conventual establishment and schools, occupied by the Sisters of Notre Dame, the foundation stone of which was laid in 1864. The old church premises in Stonehouse are in the occupation of the Little Sisters of the Poor; and Dr. Vaughan has recently purchased Gasking House for a church and schools for the east end of Plymouth. There was formerly at Coxside a Nunnery of Poor Clares. This order was established at Aire in 1629. Those who settled at Plymouth did so in 1813, having fled from France in 1769. They removed in 1835. Dr. Errington was the first Bishop of Plymouth (1850); and was succeeded by the present prelate, Dr. Vaughan in 1855.

The Presbyterian congregation was formed at Devonport in 1857, where worship was conducted in



the Temperance Hall. In 1862 an iron church was put up at Eldad, which in 1869 gave place to the present structure, erected from the designs of Mr. J. L. Hodge.

The most recently formed religious society in the town is the Protestant Evangelical Church in Compton Street.

The Bethel Union Chapel in Castle Street was built in 1833 by the Bethel Society for the accommodation of soldiers and sailors. The Plymouth Town Mission has been established five-and-thirty years. For several years a Sunday School Union has been in active operation among the Nonconformists.

Some phases of the religious life of the town have passed into oblivion. By far the most interesting of these are connected with the Huguenot congregation which used to assemble in what is now the Baptist Chapel in How Street. This was founded by Protestant refugees from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, who had made their way to England as best they could. Thus we read in a newspaper of the seventeenth century, under date Plymouth, 6th September, 1681. "*An open boat* arrived here yesterday, in which were forty or fifty Protestants who resided outside La Rochelle. Four other boats left with this, one of which is said to have put into Dartmouth, but it is not yet known what became of the other three." The refugees received a cordial welcome, and the number that came to the port was so great that they established two congregations, one at Stonehouse and one at Plymouth. The former did not become extinct until the year 1810; the latter was dissolved

earlier. The registers of the Stonehouse congregation, ranging from 1692 to 1791, and those of the Plymouth congregation, from 1733 to 1807, are now preserved at Somerset House.\* Large numbers of the descendants of the refugees may still be identified by their names, and some of them, such as the Bulteels, have taken leading rank among the families of the locality.

One, if not more, of the registers of the Plymouth congregation has been lost. That still preserved commences with a record of the election on the 11th April, 1733, as churchwardens, of Pierre Hory Laine, Jayre Valeau, Jean Parc, and Moyere Thomas, in the room of Jean Parc, Etienne Brigeau, Francois Thomas, and Etienne Cagna. The entry is signed by the minister, Pierre du Bouchet, churchwardens, and heads of families to the number of twenty-four. Then there is an entry in July of the same year of the distribution of the royal bounty of £15 5s. to fifty-one poor members of the community, the oldest being eighty-two, and the youngest a child in arms.† The first baptism recorded, that of Marie, daughter of Jacques and Marie Mounier, shews in the fact that one Richard Bunce was godfather, a proof that the exiles had found friends. The first marriage is dated December, 1744, between Edward Davis and Anne Rawle. The first deaths recorded are in 1744, those of Daniel Paillin and Francois Mousnier, the former being buried in

\* The particulars which follow are derived from these documents.

† If there were five members to a family, and the recipients of the bounty did not, as is most likely, take any part in the management of the church affairs, the little community at this time would probably number between 150 and 200.

Charles Churchyard, and the latter in St. Andrew. Farther on we find entries which indicate clearly that the refugees were becoming absorbed into the general body of the community by intermarriage, such as the baptism of "Ann, daughter of Mr. Richard West and Judith his wife." Some of the entries refer to the admission into the church of persons abjuring the "errors of the Romish Church," as did Marie Dore and Ipolite Du Clou, on the 22nd September, 1734. In September, 1736, there is a very curious note. Isaac Dechereaux and Michael Arnaud, of parents originally reformed, declared that they had never participated in the superstitions of the Church of Rome, and had always conserved a sacred respect for the holy Christian and reformed religion, wherein they promised God and the Church to persevere to the end. In August, 1739, the name of Jacob Bordier occurs as minister; and in January, 1764, that of Jaques Touzeau. He was the last pastor. From 1798 to 1807 the entries are all dated at Stonehouse. The last is a record of the baptism of Susanne, daughter of James and Anne Kerre. They occupy thirty-five pages, and towards the end occur at long intervals of time. Among the names mentioned in the Plymouth and Stonehouse registers, with their present equivalents, are Touzeau (Tozer), Cherri (Cherry), Viall (Vile), Blondett, Guillard (Jillard), Benoit (Benoy), Bastard, Rous (Rowse), Dubois, Lardieu, Travers, Arnaud (Arnold), Duval, Vincent, Bordier, Brock, Herring, Gille (Gill), Delacomb, Gruzelier, Bonnet (Bonny), Maingy, Darton, Lamoureux, Lavigne (Lavin), Paillin, Violeau, and Parc (Park).

Many of the descendants of these refugees still reside in Plymouth, though in most cases their names have been Anglicised as indicated. Among other surnames indicative of French descent in the Three Towns we have Roach (Roche), Cundý (Condè), and Pomeroy.

Five-and-twenty years ago a few bearded disciples of the Devonshire prophetess, Joanna Southcott, distinguishable by their disuse of the razor in days when shaving was the fashion, might be seen in Plymouth streets. The Three Towns were the seat of a Southcottonian congregation, of which four survived, expecting Joanna's appearance, so lately as 1851. About the same time a number of persons used to assemble for worship at the Central Hall, who held that the end of the world was close at hand. Their leaders upon one occasion—in 1847—positively fixed the date for its destruction, much to the terror of a few even outside their flock.

At the time of Mr. Rawlinson's enquiry (1852) some interesting particulars were given with reference to the old burial grounds of the town, the whole of which were then in use. St. Andrew Churchyard, which is the most ancient, dates from the middle of the thirteenth century, and has been raised by interments some feet above the natural level. The burial ground in Westwell Street, belonging to the same parish, first used about 1700, also has its surface considerably elevated. Yet 4,320 interments had taken place in the parish within the previous seven years. The burial ground of the parish of Charles consists of three sections, the original yard opened about 1650, the higher ground west taken in in 1824,

and the higher ground east first used in 1832. The number of interments there within the seven years previous to the inquiry was 1,828. The Nonconformist burial grounds date as follows:—Friends, Bilbury Street, 1748; Presbyterian, Batter Street, about 1750; Jews, near the Citadel, 1748;\* Baptist, George Street, 1787; Methodist, Ebenezer, 1817; Unitarian, Norley Street, 1832; Norley Chapel Vaults, 1839. Then the Plymouth Brethren had a place of interment in Ebrington Street and vaults under what is now the Temperance Hall. The total area of the whole was 5a. or. 11p.

In 1854 the Church, Wesleyan, and Batter Street yards were closed except for interments in vaults; and since that date the burials from Plymouth have generally taken place in the Plymouth, Devonport, and Stonehouse Cemetery, on the north-east of the town. The project of establishing a cemetery was started in 1845, and the Act obtained in the following year. Eighteen acres of land were purchased, with power to acquire four more. Ten only were laid out in the first instance. The first interment in the unconsecrated or general ground took place on the 22nd December, 1848; and the first in the consecrated 9th February, 1849. A part of the consecrated ground was set apart for the interment of those who died from cholera in 1849, and received 408.

Few of the present generation of Plymouthians are aware of the existence of a disused burial ground in front of the Crescent. In that spot the French prisoners of war who died during their incarceration

\* The Jews have now a burial ground adjoining the Cemetery.

in the Millbay Prisons adjoining were buried; and when in 1824 the late Dr. Yonge commenced the never-finished Crescent, the Corporation with the concurrence of the Navy Board, granted the ground to him, to enclose with iron rails and form into a shrubbery, with walks, in consideration of his having given up a road to the Hoe. Though there has long been no external trace of the purpose to which the ground was once applied, the planting of additional shrubs has frequently afforded evidence of an incontestable character.

## CHAPTER X.

## EDUCATION.\*

"Learning by study must be won ;  
'Twas ne'er entailed from sire to son."—*Cory.*



THE Grammar School is the oldest educational Institution in the town. It was originally founded in the reign of Henry VII. by the Corporation, who allowed the master ten marks per annum, and a lodging over the gate of an ancient chapel. The evidence for this is a Corporation record which states that in 1501 Thomas Brooke was appointed master to teach grammar at £10 a year, to lodge over the alms-house chapel, and to have the chapel itself for a school-house.† A pension of £8 yearly was payable out of the vicarage of St. Andrew

\* Most of the statements in this and the succeeding chapter are based upon official documents—reports of the Charity Commissioners, Acts of Parliament, and the like. The quotations of income are from the latest charity report, issued last year. Under the Endowed Schools Act, which gives power to deal with educational bequests, and to apply the funds of certain other charities to educational purposes, no doubt modifications will hereafter be made in the disposal of the educational and other charities of the town. The former have a total income of £2,000 ; and another £1,500 may be applied to the purpose.

† There is no complete list of the masters of the school. In 1606 a Mr. Moore vacated it on preferment ; and the Bishop recommended a Mr. Worth as his successor.

as part and parcel of Plympton Priory. After the dissolution this came to the king, but fell into arrear. At length in the reign of Elizabeth it was set forth that the revenues of the vicarage, so burdened with the annual payment and arrears, were unable to maintain a vicar; and that monarch in the fifteenth year of her reign responded to the prayer of the Corporation by granting them the advowson, the pension of £8, and the arrears, then amounting to £112, on condition that they should support a free grammar school, and pay the schoolmaster £20 a year. This grant and agreement were subsequently confirmed in the seventeenth year of Charles II. The school was formerly held in part of the old premises belonging to the Hospital of Orphans' Aid,\* and rented by the Corporation from that charity. Eight Pounds of the master's salary of £20 is paid by the vicar of St. Andrew; and the remaining £12 by the Corporation, although when the advowson was sold under the Municipal Corporations Act, the whole of the charge might fairly have been cast upon it. Whilst the school was held in the old building, the annual expenditure thereon by the Corporation in salary and repairs frequently reached £100 per annum. The Corporation exercise the right, as patrons, of nominating ten foundation scholars on payment of an annual fee of two guineas. The number has varied from time to time.

The Hospital of Orphans' Aid was founded early in the seventeenth century by two members of a family which then and long afterwards occupied

\* See the next paragraph.



a leading position in the borough—Thomas and Nicholas Sherwell. The building which they erected in Catherine Street, opposite St. Andrew tower, bore date 1615. By deed-poll dated 17th July, 1617, the Sherwells appointed a governor, four assistants, two wardens, and certain poor persons; and it was intended that the hospital should contain not more than forty and not less than three boys, natives of Plymouth. The founders liberally endowed the charity; and in 1653 the Corporation, “in consideration of £1400 (part of a greater sum due to the governors), agreed to convey to them a fourth part of the grist mills, malt mills, toll and mulcture of the inhabitants, the leat, and all the several closes, pieces or parcels of land, which were heretofore let to Sir Francis Drake, Knt., except Sour Pool, &c., and also of two new grist mills then lately built.” This grant has been the subject of a law-suit, of which more anon. The hospital now occupies premises in Regent Street. It has a total income of £330 16s. 4d., £123 6s. 8d. being rent of eighteen acres of land; £37 rent charges; and £170 7s. 8d. dividends and interest of £5,679 19s. 3d.

Hele and Lanyon's School owes its origin in the first instance to the active philanthropy of the great Devonshire educational benefactor of the seventeenth century, Elize Hele, to whose munificence many parts of the county are indebted. In 1632 Hele conveyed the manor of Brixton Reyney and other manors, lands, and hereditaments to his own use during his life, and after his death to the use of Alice Hele, his wife, John Maynard, afterwards Sir John Maynard,

John Hele and Elize Stert, for ever in trust, that they and their heirs should employ the same to some godly and charitable use. In September, 1658, Maynard and Stert conveyed the manors of Brixton Reyney and Halwell, with several other parts of the trust estate, to William Geffrey, then mayor of Plymouth, and others, to their use, and to the use of Maynard and Stert and their heirs, in trust for the performance of certain charitable uses, namely, the annual profits for the maintenance of poor children to be placed and educated in and preferred from the Hospital of Poor's Portion (founded 1630);\* and the fines from renewal of leases, after the expenditure of £2,200 in charitable and pious purposes directed in the schedule, to such pious and charitable works as Maynard and Stert should appoint. Thus was established Hele's or the Red School, so called from the colour of the dress formerly worn by the scholars. After the death of Maynard, who survived Stert, but made no appointment, a question arose as to the application of the renewal fines, and it was agreed between the trustees on behalf of the town, and between the Earl and Countess of Stamford and Sir John Hobart, heirs of Sir John Maynard, that a moiety of the money raised by fines should be applied to the purposes of the Hospital of Poor's Portion, the other half to remain at the disposal of Sir John Maynard's heirs, for pious, charitable, and public uses. This agreement was confirmed by the Act of Queen Anne incorporating the Guardians of the Poor.

Lanyon's school was founded in 1674, by John

\* See the next chapter.

Lanyon, who in that year gave £2,000 to the poor people of the Hospital of the Poor's Portion. At the opening of the charity in 1679 the number educated was six boys and two girls; but for the last century and a half its benefits have been confined entirely to boys.\* They used to be dressed in light blue, whence Lanyon's was popularly called the Blue School.\* Hele and Lanyon's schools have long since been united, and now occupy premises in the Tavistock Road.

The endowment of Hele's school is stated to consist of houses and 1,478a. or. 15p. of land, producing £437 4s. 4d, £30 rent charge, &c., and £16 2s. 6d. interest of £537 12s. 5d. Consols; total, £483 6s. 10d. Lanyon's school is endowed with houses producing £136 3s. 1d., and £60 3s. 4d. the interest of £2,005 12s. 11d. Consols.

The Grey School, Hampton Street, was founded in 1713 by several of the inhabitants, prominent among whom was Canon Gilbert, then vicar of St. Andrew. It was formerly known as the Grey and Yellow School from the dress adopted, and immediately previous to the erection of the present premises in Hampton Street, in 1814, was held in Woolster Street in "a dirty situation and a miserable building." It possesses an endowment of £5,351 4s. Consols, producing £160 10s. 8d. Some of this is applied in apprenticing, being the interest of money left for that purpose.

\* Defoe, in his "Tour" (1723), says: "Here are four hospitals in which poor Children are cloath'd, fed, and taught, *viz.* one of Twenty-four Children cloath'd in Green, another for Sixteen cloath'd in Blue, another for Eight Boys cloath'd in Red, and a Work-house for Thirty poor Boys and Girls."

Twenty-five boys and the like number of girls are educated free and provided with a grey suit once a year.

Joan Bennett's charity was founded by will, dated 10th August, 1650, wherein the testatrix left property in Southside Street for charitable purposes, the chief part to be devoted to the maintenance of two scholars to be brought up in the study of divinity at Oxford or Cambridge, one to be of the posterity of her husband's brothers' sons, and the other of the posterity of one of her sisters. A Chancery suit was brought against the Corporation in relation to this charity forty years ago; and it was ordered by decree in August, 1834, that if there were no such candidates as could prove their relationship to the testatrix in the degrees mentioned, the Corporation should appoint the sons of inhabitant householders. The exhibitions are of £50 each, tenable for four years; and the patronage is in the hands of the Municipal Charity Trustees, in whom in 1837 the charitable estates and funds of the mayor and commonalty were vested. The property now produces £45 a year, and there is a further income of £74 14s. 8d. interest on £2,488 18s. 10d. arising from accumulations of income. The claimants of descent are extinct.

Lady Rogers's Charity School, in the Tavistock Road, was founded by Dame Hannah Rogers, who in 1764 left £10,000 to be applied for that purpose after certain conditions had been fulfilled. Eventually £18,735 11s. 10d. 3 per cent. Consols were purchased, and the endowment now consists of £28,173, producing £845 3s. 9d. This and some other charitable

institutions of the town sustained heavy losses not long previous to the visit of the first Charity Commission by the insolvency of a Mr. Cleather. The children are maintained, clothed, and apprenticed.

In 1785, during the joint pastorate at Batter Street Chapel of the Revs. Christopher and Herbert Mends, the Batter Street Benevolent Institution was founded for the education of girls and infants. It is the oldest educational institution in the town definitely connected with any religious body; and from that time to the present has been conducted purely on the voluntary principle, being supported by subscriptions from persons of different denominations.

The Household of Faith in Vennell Street was founded by the Rev. Dr. Hawker, while vicar of the parish of Charles. In 1787 a Sunday School was established in Friary Court (now destroyed), and in 1790 a day school of industry for girls. The present school house in Vennell Street was erected in 1796. The children are instructed according to the principles of the Established Church, and trained and employed in such useful employment as is best calculated for their positions in after life. The charity has an income of £46 10s. 1d., arising from an invested fund of £1,550 5s. 11d., the result of legacies.

The Plymouth Public Free School has long passed its jubilee. It was founded in 1809 for boys, in 1811 for girls, and the first stone of the first of the present group of buildings was laid in 1812. Prior to that date the boys were taught in Bedford Street; and the girls in the Guildhall. The growth has been so great that several additions have been rendered necessary;

and it is now, with the single exception of the Jews School in Spitalfields, the largest of its kind in the kingdom, educating over 1,500 children. The Infants' School was established in 1860. The annual expenditure is about £1,500. When first established admission to the school was free, but it was soon found necessary to charge a small fee.

The Ragged Schools were commenced in 1848, Mr. Eldred Brown and Mr. T. Nicholson being the promoters. In 1850, the Ragged School Association was formed, and took the organization under its care. The premises in Cattle Street were then purchased at a cost of £600, and adapted at the outlay of another £200. A small school was next set on foot in Foundry Ope. This afterwards developed into the King Street Schools, which were erected at a cost of £2,100. At the date of the last report there were 1,177 children on the books, with an average attendance of 690.

Mr. Jacob Nathan, a wealthy Hebrew of Plymouth, in 1867 left £20,000 to charities, and founded an endowed school for his own people, which is held on premises in Well Street.

Within the past half-century public schools have been established, and good—in several instances attractive—school buildings provided in every parish in the town. Charles led the way. Schools for this parish were established in 1838, but it was not until 1846 that the school buildings in Tavistock Place were erected. In 1856-7 additional accommodation was afforded by the erection of a boys' school at Vinegar Hill, otherwise Charlestown, when the for-

mer building was appropriated to girls and infants only. St. Andrew Chapel schools were started in 1842. Schools for Holy Trinity were first opened in 1844, and the present buildings erected in 1854, 1859, and 1865, as occasion required. The schools of St. Peter were established in 1850, and the premises (extended last year) opened in 1859. Schools are now about to be erected for All Saints on the Barley House estate. Christ Church schools were likewise established in 1850. Sutton-on-Plym boys' school was erected in 1861, and last year capacious girls' and infants' schools were added. The schools of the parish of St. James were long held in very poor premises in Bath Street. They now occupy commodious and handsome premises in Prospect Row. Singularly enough the mother parish was the last to move in the matter of education. It was not until 1861 that day schools for St. Andrew were established. But two years from that date had passed, however, before the buildings in Princess Street Ope were erected.

The Roman Catholics hold large schools in capacious buildings attached to the Cathedral, until the erection of which the old chapel in St. Mary Street, Stonehouse, and previously to the Cathedral being built a house adjoining that chapel, were used. They have been established upwards of thirty-five years. In 1865 the Baptists provided spacious school buildings adjoining their chapel in George Street, in which an unsectarian boys' school has since then been carried on. Last year the Wesleyans erected commodious schools behind their chapel in King Street, which are likewise used for daily instruction.

Under the provisions of the Education Act of 1870, the Town Council determined upon applying for powers to elect a School Board, and the election took place on the 31st of January in the present year. There were nineteen candidates for thirteen seats, six being nominated as Churchmen, six as advocates of unsectarian education, two by the working men, two by the Wesleyans, one by the Roman Catholics, whilst two—the Rev. J. Barter and Dr. Merrifield—stood independently, the latter however being considered specially to represent science. The election was held before Mr. W. Luscombe, as returning officer, the Mayor, Mr. Serpell, being one of the candidates, and resulted in the return of the following gentlemen. The unsectarian candidates are distinguished by an asterisk.

Successful candidates :—Mr. J. Pike (Working man, Independent) 4349 ; Mr. S. P. Cook (Working man, Wesleyan) 4171 ; Mr. T. Pitts (Churchman) 3456 ; Mr. J. Smith (Wesleyan) 3119 ; Mr. C. F. Burnard (Wesleyan) 2968 ; Rev. C. T. Wilkinson (Churchman) 2861 ; Rev. J. Barter (Independent) 2257 ; Rev. Canon Mansfield (Roman Catholic) 2129 ; Mr. C. Norrington (Churchman) 1967 ; \*Mr. A. Rooker (Independent) 1927 ; \*Rev. F. E. Anthony (Independent) 1805 ; Mr. C. Bewes (Churchman) 1768 ; \*Mr. R. C. Serpell (Baptist) 1739. Unsuccessful candidates :—Mr. J. Kelly (Churchman) 1669 ; \*Mr. J. N. Bennett (Liberal Churchman) 1562 ; Dr. Merrifield (Unitarian) 1531 ; \*Mr. S. Elliott (Friend) 1282 ; Mr. W. Radford (Churchman) 1135 ; \*Mr. R. Rundle (Liberal Churchman) 643.



## CHAPTER XI.

## CHARITY AND PHILANTHROPY.

"In faith and hope the world will disagree,  
But all mankind's concern is charity;  
All must be false that thwart this one great end;  
And all of God that bless mankind or mend."—*Pope*.

**F**ROM the peculiarity of its origin the Workhouse of Plymouth claims a place among the endowed charities of the town. It was originally founded as the Hospital of the Poor's Portion, by John Gayer, Abraham Colmer, and Edmund Fowel, in "performance of the trust therein reposed by the then Mayor and Commonalty," in May, 1630; and the first portion was erected immediately adjoining the Hospital of Orphans' Aid. The charity was endowed with houses and lands, thus enumerated: "Five messuages in Plymouth in a place called Southside, in a little lane called White Street, a messuage in Market Street and a garden in Catte Street, two messuages and gardens and orchards adjoining the Workhouse bounded by St. Catherine's Lane east, certain houses, shops, warehouses, kitchens, and curtillages, with a garden, bounded on the north by Market Street, and on the south by a lane called Loder's Lane, and a piece of ground called Specott's plot on

the north side of a close called Cross Down." Other gifts were subsequently made. In 1666 Margery Row devised land at Bridgemore, in the parish of St. John, two shillings to be expended weekly in bread, and the residue for the benefit of the poor. The estate is about nine acres. Some of the property has now disappeared. Houses in Batter Street, Southside Street, and Whimple Street were sold, and the resulting sum of £1,250 carried to the general fund. Upon Specott's field the New Workhouse stands; and the endowment of the old Poor's Hospital now consists of houses and 8a. 3r. of land, let for £60 13s. 10d. and a rent charge of £2; total, £62 13s. 10d. This sum, less Row's bread bequest of £5 4s., is carried to the general account.

The present Incorporation of Guardians of the Poor was established by Act of Parliament in 1708, the preamble of the statute setting forth that the number of poor people had "of late years much increased throughout the kingdom of England, and particularly in the town and borough of Plymouth, in the county of Devon;" and that the "erecting of public work-houses hath been found to be a most proper method for the prevention and removal of the great mischiefs arising from such numbers of unemployed poor." The Act was the result of an arrangement between the Corporation as managers of the Hospital of the Poor's Portion, the Earl and Countess of Stamford, and Sir John Hobart, representatives of Sir John Maynard, the last surviving trustee of Elize Hele (Hele's School being attached to the Hospital), and the trustees of the school, Sir Francis Drake, Re-

corder of Plymouth, Richard Opie, John Neele, Thos. Bound, and Joseph Webb, of Plymouth, merchants ; and Edmund Pollexfen, late of the same, Esquire." The Corporation agreed to convey to the new body of Guardians all their rights in the Hospital ; and Sir John Maynard's representatives agreed to transfer to them their rights in a moiety of the fines, accumulated and future, of the school trust estate. Upon these conditions the Guardians were incorporated, and appointed to consist of "the Mayor and Recorder of the said town for the time being ; six of the masters or magistrates of the said town ; six more of the four and twenty or common council of the said town ; and also twenty other persons to be chosen out of the ablest and discreetest inhabitants of the parish of St. Andrew within the said town, and eighteen others of the ablest and discreetest inhabitants of the parish of Charles within the said town." The qualification for the parish electors was fixed at a poor rate of 6d. a month ; from their representatives no qualification whatever is required. The various corporate and parochial alms-houses were vested in the new Corporation, as well as the Hospital and its property ; and they were empowered to raise within twelve months a sum not exceeding treble the poor rate paid in the year 1702, for the purpose of providing such additional Hospital, Workhouse, or House of Correction accommodation, as might be needed ; and a yearly amount for the maintenance and employment of the poor not exceeding the poor rate assessed in the aforesaid year. The amount of this rate was £672 15s. 3d.

Towards the carrying out of the new scheme a

number of private benefactions were given, as recorded by tablets now in the ante-chamber of the board-room at the Workhouse, whilst in the board-room itself are the arms of between forty and fifty of the benefactors. Tablets and arms were removed from the old Workhouse. Thus we find the representatives at the time the Act was passed, Mr. Trelawny and Sir George Byng, giving £50 each; Mr. Joseph Palmer, £500; and a French refugee, probably as a thank-offering for the succour he had received, £10. The Act of Queen Anne provides that these tablets shall be kept up for ever.

The poor increased, their maintenance became expensive, and the Guardians, before many years were over, found that they could not make both ends meet. By 1758 they were £1,644 in debt, for which they had to pay interest, and were further liable for life annuities to the amount of £33, in respect of another £400 borrowed and spent. The annual excess of expenditure over income for the six years previous to that date is stated at £320. So the Guardians applied to Parliament for relief, setting forth their monetary straits, with certain difficulties which had occurred. One of these had regard to assessing "lodgers or boarders, or any other persons than house-keepers in their own right." In stating another of their grievances they afford a curious insight into some of the characteristics of Plymouth a century since. The summary way of dealing with vagrants then in vogue, the "ablest and discreetest" men of Plymouth evidently thought was not half summary enough. This special grievance was that by an Act passed a

few years previously "masters of vessels bound for Ireland, the Isles of Man, Guernsey, Jersey, and Scilly are obliged to take on board them respectively no more than one vagrant for every twenty tons burthen of their respective ships or vessels." The ships bound to those places from Plymouth were mostly of small tonnage, by reason whereof "vagrants whose last legal settlements are in Ireland, or one of the islands, are for want of timely opportunities of passage over to the said kingdom or islands sometimes necessarily obliged to lie and continue for a long time in the said town and parishes of Plymouth, to the great burthen and charge of the said Corporation." We may be sure that the question of legal settlement was not considered too nicely, when vagrants could be got rid of in this easy fashion.

The Act of 1758 provided for the relief of the Guardians by giving them power to raise £2,000 to pay their debts, by assessment within three years; to make a poor rate of £1,000 a year; to levy a distress upon negligent churchwardens or overseers; to compel masters of vessels to take on board one vagrant for every fifteen tons, instead of twenty; to receive the surplus of the land tax assessments then in the hands of several persons in the town;\* and to be reimbursed out of the county stock, the expenses of sending to their homes the wives and children of soldiers and sailors who were left in distress at the port by the departure abroad of their husbands and

\* This amounted to £800, and a tablet in the Workhouse records that this application of the money was due entirely to the efforts of Mr. Justice Tolcher.

fathers, upon the mayor and commonalty paying £5 4s. 8d. as their proportion of every future county rate.

The increase of the town again threw the Guardians into difficulties. By 1786, when their next Act was passed, they were in debt £2,150, and had an excess of expenditure over income of £290. Power was therefore granted them to levy a rate of £1,500; and to obtain such additional sums as might be required, by certifying their necessities to the justices; thereafter certifying the rate proposed to raise the amount to the mayor, recorder, and magistrates, who would authorise its collection.

In 1813 the last of the four Acts by which the Incorporation is governed was passed. Debt had been once again incurred, and the expenditure was largely in excess of the £1,500 which the Guardians could raise of their own motion. Power was therefore given them to raise £6,000 yearly, and to obtain additional sums as before. The date of the annual elections was changed from the second Tuesday in May to the second Wednesday; the appointment of collectors was authorised; more stringent regulations made with regard to rating, and for the management of the poor; and the House of Correction within the Workhouse declared available for public purposes, including the custody of lunatics.

Several additions were from time to time made to the Workhouse, the latest of any consequence in 1833. All proving insufficient, it was decided in 1849 that the present Workhouse at North Hill should be erected. The old premises were subsequently, after

a good deal of delay, sold to the Corporation in 1857, as part of the site of the new Guildhall, for £3,250. The New Workhouse cost £12,000. The old hospital was associated with many important events in the history of the town. Not a few violent contests for the election of members of Parliament—eight-day polls—were carried on there.

The Workhouse underwent a reformation of a very important character eighty years ago. "Originally a nest of vagabonds," it remained so until Mr. Kevern, one of the Guardians, "employed some of the people in spinning, which in three years produced £80. Industrious habits were gradually created, and at length, after a complete reformation of the concern, the paupers (among whom were numerous children who could not be placed out as apprentices owing to the general dislike to receive them in that capacity then prevalent) earned by making their own clothes, bed woollens, blankets, and rugs, and providing the same for other charities, successively in three years £235, £160, and £116. At the expiration of the third year the idle and dissolute, in consequence of being kept at work, quitted the house, and the annual profit on labour declined until reduced to nothing."\*

A curious system of voting, termed "scratching," has been in use for many years in the election of Guardians. A list of the candidates is written on a sheet of paper, and the voter makes, or causes to be made, "scratches" opposite the names of those whom he favours. The oddest feature of the business is that if a name is passed over the voter is not allowed to

\* Burt's "Review of the Commerce of the Port of Plymouth."

return to it. The first time probably for a century that this system has not been used was at Charles parish in the present year, when Mr. John Bayly, the chairman, decided that it was illegal, and took the votes by show of hands.

At the end of the Guardians' year, May 1871, there were 555 inmates in the house, and 3516 out-poor. The total charge for the twelve months preceding was £26,049.

The alms-houses of the town are the most ancient class of charities now existing. There were formerly houses belonging to St. Andrew parish, known as the Old Church Twelves, adjoining the Orphans' Aid Hospital, which were in existence as far back as 1573. They were destroyed in consequence of their dilapidated state in 1869, and their site is now occupied by the eastern end of the new municipal offices. The inmates were maintained by the Corporation in consideration of property which has disappeared. The ancient endowment consisted of rents to the amount of £17 13s. 4d., including Rawlins's gift of £3. In 1870 a fixed weekly payment of £1 15s. was substituted for the rents. To this was added Rawlins's gift of £3 a year; and in addition the Corporation had to keep the building in repair. Adjoining the Twelves were the Workhouse alms-houses, under the control of the Guardians of the Poor, but possessing no income. The Twelves accommodated twelve poor women, and the other houses nine.

Other alms-houses formerly stood in the same locality, founded respectively by Anne Prynne, Alice



Baker, otherwise Miller, and — Fownes. These were all removed for purposes of town improvement, having moreover by decay fallen into a "loathsome condition." Alice Baker erected five in 1660, and granted a rent charge of £10 for their maintenance upon the Bradley estate. Concerning the origin of Prynne's and Fownes's little or nothing is known. Prynne's and Miller's were sold some sixty years ago to the turnpike trustees for the purpose of widening the road; and Fownes's not long after to the Corporation for £500, for the purpose of widening the street. The money is said to have been applied in building a school room and infirmary at the old Workhouse. The present property of Baker's foundation consists of twenty-five acres of land, which produces a total income of £25. Of this sum £10 is paid to the inmates of the New Church and Old Church alms-houses, and the residue carried to the Guardians' general account. From this and other charities the Guardians give away about £90 a year in clothing.

The New Church alms-houses were founded in 1674 by John Lanyon, who left £300 for that purpose. They stood in Green Street, near Charles Church; but falling into a sad state of decay, having no endowment, were pulled down in 1868, and the substantial Elizabethan brick building which at present occupies the site erected under an agreement between the Guardians and the Corporation. In this structure are accommodated also the inmates of the old alms-houses in Catherine Street, the "Twelves," and the Workhouse, now removed.

Jory's alms-houses at Coxside, for twelve poor

widows, were founded by Col. Joseph Jory, a native of Plymouth, in 1703. They are in excellent condition and liberally endowed; with houses and 36 acres 3 roods and 33 perches of land, producing a rental of £360 15s.; and with £2,243 7s. 4d. Consols, the total gross income being £428 10s.

Fox's alms-houses behind Sussex Terrace were founded in 1834 by Francis Fox, for twelve aged women.

The Victoria alms-houses, Victoria Street, were founded by deed, February 2, 1844, by Mrs. Mary Granville Hodson, for natives of the parishes of St. Andrew and Charles. They are endowed with £487 2s. 11d. Consols, producing an annual income of £14 12s. 3d.

The general endowed charities next claim attention.

John White, in 1584 gave £250 to the Corporation as a stock to be lent out, and the money to be paid to the poor, &c., of the towns of Lostwithiel, Liskeard, Truro, and St. Germans. The charity now consists of £235 in the hands of the Corporation, producing £11 15s. a year. One pound one shilling of this is given away in clothing; and £10 14s. goes to the poor and preacher in Lostwithiel and Liskeard, and to the poor of Truro and St. Germans.

John Bounde gave in 1642 20s. rent charge out of Thistle Park, Coxside, which was increased by his son Thomas to 40s. It is distributed in clothes.\*

John Burroughs gave £18 out of the great tithes of Egg Buckland and St. Bude. Three pounds twelve

\* There is a stone built into a wall at Coxside, inscribed "Thistle Park, 1616."

shillings is deducted for land tax, and the remainder distributed in clothing.

Sir J. Gayer's gift consists of the Tor estate, Weston Peverel, which contains 15 acres and 11 perches, and is now let at £45 a year. Four pounds go to the Orphans' Aid Charity, £9 4s. to the vicar of Charles, and the remainder is distributed in clothing.

Hewer's gift is £4, the interest of £100 placed in the hands of the Corporation in 1743. Distributed in clothes.

Captain Rawlins's gift consists of the interest of two separate sums of £125 left by him to the Corporation in 1626; one to be lent out to poor seafaring men at 4 per cent. interest, £3 of which was to be expended in providing butter for the occupants of the alms-houses on fish days, and £2 to go to the poor of the tithing of Compton Gifford. The other £125 to be lent to poor tradesmen, and the interest to be paid in sums of 10s. to the poor of Plympton Maurice, Saltash, St. Bude, Stoke Damerel, Egg Buckland, Weston Peverell, and Stonehouse. He also left two tenements in Batter Street. The charity is now connected with the Orphans' Aid.

William Rowe, by will dated 10th April, 1690, left a field called Shute Park, to the Guardians, the rent to be given away in clothing on every 1st of January. Part of the field forms the site of the Free School, in Cobourg Street, which was granted by the Guardians to the Trustees in 1811, for a term of 500 years, at the yearly rent of £10. In 1823 the Guardians granted the remainder of the field, which includes the east side of James Street and all Glanville Street,

with the approaches thereto, to one James Cobley, for 99 years, and Cobley afterwards sublet with the consent of the Guardians to Messrs. Glanville and others, on building leases for that term, on the annual payment of conventional rents. The site of the school has been sold to the school authorities absolutely. The rents now amount to £52; and there is a sum of £841 Consols, the total income being £77 4s. 7d.; £25 4s. 7d., the interest of the amount in the funds, is appropriated to education, and the £52 distributed in clothes. John Crabb, Rowe's executor, applied in 1713 £100 of his money to the purposes of the Guardians. The field then produced £16 a year.

James Madock, merchant of Plymouth, formerly of Oporto, in 1727 left to the Guardians of the Poor the interest of £1,400 South Sea annuities, to be given away in clothing on the 1st of November in every year. This charity now consists of £1,540 2½ per Cents.; and the interest, £38 10s., is distributed as provided.

Joseph Palmer's gift (1723) of £2 yearly to the poor, paid by the Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery, is given away in clothing.

Philip Francis's gift by will (1658) of 40s. out of his house in Foxhole, the site now occupied by two houses in Vauxhall, formerly Foxhole Street—is carried to the Guardians' general account.

Kelway's charity, founded by will in 1732, now consists of funded property to the amount of £6,137 16s. 10d., producing an annual income of £481 18s. 1d. Three-thirty-fourths of the income go to the donor's

relations, the remainder is appropriated in bringing up, apprenticing, &c., the children of such relatives, and in default thereof children of Plymouth and Saltash. Fifty pounds seven shillings and fourpence is distributed in money; £434 10s. 9d. in advancement.

In 1778 Sarah Webber devised a house and smith's shop in Norley's Lane, now Norley Street.

Some charities have lapsed. Among them the following :—William Martin, in 1761, left his house in Buckwell Street to his son and his heirs on condition that ten threepenny loaves should be distributed weekly by the proprietor of the property. John King, in 1676, left the interest of £100; and Stephen Ollivier, in 1668, a rent charge of £5 4s. upon a house in Exeter which cannot be identified. Both these had been lost long previous to the first enquiry of the Charity Commissioners.

There are in addition to the foregoing a number of endowed parochial charities, mostly however of small amount. They include the following—

St. Andrew.—Sir John Acland's (1619) rent-charge of £2 12s.; W. Hill's rent-charge, £2 12s.; John Hill's (1672), £2 12s., interest of £50 in the hands of the Corporation; Ackerman's (1762), £2 10s., annuity paid by the Corporation; John Morshead's (1750), £1 12s. 5d., interest of £54 2s. 8d. Consols; Eleanor Huxham's (1796), £2 8s. from parish of Charles; Hurst and King's £8 2s. 3d., interest of £270 9s. 2d. Consols; Northcote's (1836), £6 11s. 3d., interest of £218 17s. 6d. Consols; Williams's (1836) £4 17s. 8d., interest of £162 15s. 7d. Consols. These are distributed in bread or bread and flour. £21 3s. 10d.

dividend on £706 8s. stock, left by Samuel Addis, forms part of the salary of the organist, and rent-charges of 5s. on a field north of the Friary and 6s. 8d. upon a house in Vintry Street are applied to church purposes.

Charles.—Mary Collins's £2 10s., interest of £50 held by the Corporation; Morshead's (1756), of a like amount; Stevens's £5 os. 5d., interest of £167 7s. 3d. Consols; Acland's (by will, 1843) £2 12s., interest of £100; Mrs. Hodson's £15, interest of £500; Morris's (by will, 1828) £2 14s. 4d., interest of £90 13s. 7d.; Lucy Moore's (by will, 1846) £3 1s. 9d., interest of £102 19s. 3d. Consols. These are distributed in bread. Elizabeth Chapman's (1791) £4, interest of £80 applied in enlarging the burial ground; and Mrs. Sutton's (1795) £3, interest of £100, are distributed in linen. Bruce's, £7 10s., interest of £150, part of which was applied towards the Household of Faith, is given in money. Out of Sir J. Gayer's gift the vicar gets £8 for preaching sermons preparatory to the Sacrament, and the clerk and sexton £1 4s. for attending. Of the Huxham charity £19 16s., interest of £600 Consols, £2 8s. goes to St. Andrew, and the remainder is distributed in money to poor widows or other poor women. In 1870, Mr. J. Williams of Chudleigh, formerly of Plymouth, left £500 for the poor of each parish.

The tithing of Weston Peverell has three charities producing £4 a year: Rawlins's gift of 10s.; John Harris's (1725) £2 10s., charged on the Barton of Pennycross; and £1 from the charity of £3 annually founded by Mrs. Johanna Knighton, in the parish of

St. Budeaux. The tithing of Compton Gifford has three charities producing £12 annually: Rawlins's of £2; Rebecca Shaw's (1807) £5, interest of £100; and Sarah Hancock's (1811) of a similar amount.

Such briefly are the specially endowed charities of the town of Plymouth. There remain to be noted the great associated philanthropic institutions, nearly all of which have sprung up within the present century; and have something in the way of accumulated funds or permanent investment.

The Public Dispensary originated in 1798 with Mr. Charles Yonge, an eminent medical man of the town. Its first quarters were in the old mayoralty house, Woolster Street, whence it moved to premises in How Street, then How's Lane. In 1804 the site upon which the present capacious building stands was purchased, but it was not until 1807 that the committee were able to proceed further with the works. In that year Mr. Yonge left the Institution a legacy of £1,000. The building was opened in 1809. An excellent portrait of the founder, by Northcote, R.A., hangs in the governor's room.

The South Devon and East Cornwall Hospital is an offshoot from the Dispensary. The court of governors of that charity, "encouraged by the liberal donations already made, and their rapidly increasing subscription list, purchased a piece of ground adjoining Sussex Place, Princess Square, as the most eligible site for a building to answer the joint purpose of the existing dispensary, and a general hospital for in-patients."\* The amalgamation was never carried

\* Wightwick's "Guide."

out; and the Hospital became a distinct undertaking. It was erected from the designs of Mr. Wightwick, the foundation stone of the central block being laid on the 6th August, 1835, by the Rev. J. Hatchard. It was opened in January, 1840. Since that date the two wings have been added. The Royal Albert wing was opened in Feb., 1864, and so named in memory of the Prince Consort. The children's ward was opened in July, 1868.

Dr. J. Butter and Dr. E. Moore were in 1821 the founders of the Eye Infirmary. At first a small house in Westwell Street was rented for its operations; but eventually the front portion of the present building in Millbay Road was adapted to the purpose. The wing in Buckland Street was added in 1867. In 1854 a portrait of Dr. Butter by Lucas, of London, was placed in the Infirmary; a salver being presented to the Doctor at the same time.

There are three establishments designed for the rescue of fallen women. The oldest of these is the Female Penitentiary, which was established at Stonehouse in 1832; but has now for many years occupied premises in Hill Street, Plymouth. The Refuge at the Abbey was established in 1850 at Devonport; and removed to Barley House, King Street, formerly the residence of Colonel Elliott, in 1861. The site of that dwelling being required for building operations, a wing of the Abbey was fitted up for the penitents in 1871. The Plymouth Female Home, Ham Street, dates from 1861.

The Devon and Cornwall Female Orphan Asylum, in Lockyer Street, was established in 1834. In May,



1841, the foundation stone of the present building was laid by Sir Ralph Lopes, M.P., Mr. Wightwick being the architect. There is room for seventy children, and fifty are received, maintained, educated, and trained.

The South Devon and Cornwall Institution for the Blind, Cobourg Street, dates from 1859, Mr. James Gale, himself blind, being one of its chief promoters. A free day school for the instruction of the blind was opened in the Old Workhouse in 1860, and developed into the larger charity.

The Plymouth Soup Society commenced its operations in 1838, something of the kind having existed previously. In 1849 a soup house was built. It was endowed by the Miss Whites, who had always taken a great interest in the affairs of the charity. The endowment, founded by deed in 1847, consists of a house let at £10, and £62 16s. 7d. in money, producing in interest £1 17s. 8d.

The Poor Saints' Relief Fund was established in 1844.

The Plymouth Sailors' Home has been founded nearly twenty years. A few years since there was much controversy concerning its right to a legacy left by Admiral Harcourt to the Sailors' Home at Plymouth. Devonport as a naval station having been until 1843 officially styled Plymouth, and the Admiral having shown much interest in the Sailors' Home there, it was argued that he meant that institution instead of one which was specially intended for merchant seamen. However, Plymouth retains the money.

Last year, by the exertions of Mr. Hamilton Whiteford, a Mendicity Society was established. Something of the same sort existed nearly half a century previously, but had long been dead.

The first Temperance Society in Plymouth was founded in 1832. This was a Temperance Association in the old acceptation of the term. The present Teetotal Society, which soon superseded its predecessor, was established through the efforts of James Teare in 1838. A few years since (1864) it acquired the Chapel of the Plymouth Brethren in Raleigh Street, which makes an excellent Temperance Hall. Besides the local temperance organizations, Plymouth is the head-quarters of the Devon and Cornwall Temperance League, established in 1859, which issues as its monthly organ the *Devon and Cornwall Temperance Journal*.

Freemasonry is strongly represented in Plymouth. There are several lodges, most of which assemble at the Huyshe Masonic Temple, in Princess Place. The senior is St. John's, No. 70, which was established in 1759; and is second in Devon only to Lodge 39, St. John the Baptist, Exeter, which dates from 1731. Oddfellowship and Forestry in Plymouth are also in a flourishing condition.

As being a provident institution, here clearly is the place to allude to the establishment in 1862 of the Western Counties and London Mutual Life Assurance Company, which has met with considerable success. The actuary and secretary from the commencement has been Mr. J. Stevens Cudlip, F.S.S.

## CHAPTER XII.

## TRADE, COMMERCE, AND MANUFACTURE.

"THE band of commerce was designed  
 To associate all the branches of mankind;  
 And of a boundless plenty be the robe,  
 Trade is the golden girdle of the globe.  
 \* \* \* \* Art thrives most  
 Where commerce has enriched the busy coast;  
 He catches all improvements in his flight,  
 Spreads foreign wonders in his country's sight;  
 Imports what others have invented well,  
 And stirs his own to match them or excel."—*Cowper.*



ELAND, whom other topographers have followed, states that in the reign of Henry II. Plymouth was "a mene thing as an Inhabitation for fischars, and after increased by litle and litle." The increase was clearly due to "the conveniency of the haven, which without striking sail admitteth into its bosom the tallest ships that be."

In 1331 an Act of Parliament was passed declaring the towns of Plympton, Modbury, Newton Ferrers, and Yalemouth, to be members of the port of Sutton. During the remainder of the fourteenth century numerous entries occur which testify to the rapid growth of Plymouth in importance. There are several writs extant with regard to the export of grain and other matters. In 1347 the collectors of subsidies

within the port were ordered to gather 2s. per sack and 6d. in the pound on all merchandize, to provide 60 large ships for his Majesty's service. Reference has already been made to the fact\* that the Black Prince had a "havener" to look after his dues in Sutton Pool. In 1360 the merchants of Plymouth obtained Royal permission to trade with Portugal. In 1369 all ships above 20 tons were ordered to be sent for the King's service to Dartmouth. In the reign of Richard II. we find Parliament decreeing the establishment of something akin to a Bonded Warehouse. All merchants and mariners coming "to a place called Conners in the Island of St. Nicholas shall not pay any duties on their merchandise, unless it is exposed for sale." There is another proof that a substantial trade was conducted in Plymouth even in the fourteenth century, in the scale of customs duties granted to the "mayor, bailiffs, honest men, and commonalty," for the purpose of fortifying the town, by this monarch, namely:—"On every tub of wine, honey, and mead, carried through the port, if sold in gross, four pence; if retail, six pence: on every pack of coloured cloth, eight pence: on russet and close cloth, four pence: on linen, eight pence; and on canvass, four pence: on every skin of oxen or cows, one farthing: on every hundred of the fish called merlet or haket, one half-penny: on every hundred 'great fish,' four pence: on every quarter of salt or coals, one farthing: on every quintal of iron, one farthing: on each thousand herrings or pilchards, one farthing: on each fishing boat, twelve

\* See chapter ii.

pence per annum : on every tub of cheese, two pence : on every stone of soap, hemp, and cord, one farthing : on every quintal of wax, four pence : on every quarter of corn of any kind coming into or out of the town and port, one penny : on every brew-house in the town, one penny : on every hundred of boards, four pence : on every barrel of pitch and tar, one farthing : on every thousand laths and talshiles, one half-penny : on each thousand slates, one farthing : on each yard of cloth sold retail, one farthing : on every falding, one half-penny : and on every ship and vessel bearing "batell or coket," six pence ; and on those not bearing the same, four pence." In the sixth year of the same monarch, "the major and ballivis ville de Plymouth" were directed to enforce an order against the exportation of provisions. As its commerce grew, so the port became exposed to depredations. Hence in 1460 the inhabitants obtained a license from the king to obtain a bull from the Pope against pirates and others molesting them. The petition for the charter of incorporation states that Plymouth then had a trade in wines, cloth, salt, &c. This is confirmed by the Privy Council minutes previously quoted.\*

Towards the end of the 14th century the trade of the port declined. Without doubt this was partly an effect of the devastations committed by the French ; but partly it arose also from the general absence of activity in naval matters, which characterised this epoch. It was not until the 15th century had nearly closed that matters began to mend, though many years before that time commerce was by no means without

\* See chapter ii.

exceptional rewards. Leland makes particular reference to two merchant princes of this period—Yogge and Painter. Of the former he says: "One Thomas Yogge, a marchaunt of Plymmouth, paid of late yeres for making of the Steple of Plymouth Church. The town paid for the stuffe. This Thomas Yogge made a fair house of More Stone yn the Towne towards the Haven. This Thomas made a goodly House of More Stone on the North side of the Church yard of Plymouth Paroche Church. This Thomas built a fair chapel on the Northe side of Plymmouth Church." The reference to Painter runs: "One Painter that of late died a rich Marchaunt, made a goodly house towards the Haven, where Catarine Princes Dowager lay at her comynge out of Spain."

Means of estimating the relative importance of the commerce of the chief English ports during the 15th century is afforded by the directions given in 1450 that a part of the "despences" of the Royal household should be defrayed out of the Customs. Plymouth and Fowey were to contribute jointly £40 a year; Exeter and Dartmouth, £50; Bristol was set down at £266 13s. 4d.; and Hull at £400. Five years previously we find merchant aliens prohibited from buying woollen goods in Plymouth and other ports (London, Southampton, and Sandwich excepted), unless driven thither by stress of weather; the reason assigned being that they, having ready money, bought of indigent persons, thereby reducing the prices. About the same time the merchants of the port were grievously annoyed by the extortionate demands of the water bailiff, who charged sixpence for every piece

of crececloth, the same for every 100 of canvas, and twelve pence for every ton of iron, and sometimes more. They applied to Parliament for redress, and in 1450 obtained an Act for their relief. In 1495 John Monkeley was havener.

The development of the spirit of adventure, consequent upon the discovery of America, rising to its greatest height in the reign of Elizabeth, brought Plymouth to the very fore-front of English ports, whether for war or for trade.

In 1537 Henry Harfam, "custemer of Plymouth," was executed at Tyburn, why it does not appear. In 1576 it was ordered by the Council that all merchandize brought by sea should be put into a place provided, called the Common Hall, before it was sold or taken to the private premises of the owner, under a penalty of five pounds. Ten years later there is an entry that a Scotch ship laden with rye should be sold for the benefit of the poor of the town and neighbourhood. Sir Francis Drake, during his mayoralty, performed an important service to the maritime interests of the port, by setting up "the mariner's compass" on the Hoe, which was repaired in 1672, and was in existence at such a comparatively recent date as 1730.

The history of the progress of the port may be pursued in many directions. As the most important, we shall in the first place deal with the growth of its artificial aids to the conduct of commerce.

Sutton Pool, as its name indicates, was the original harbour of Plymouth, and was regularly used for commercial purposes certainly 600 years ago. In process

of time the entrance was fortified. "The mouth of the gulph wherein the shippes of Plymouth lyith is waulled on eche side, and chained over in tyme of necessite."\* The operations of the tin miners had for a long time resulted detrimentally to the ports on the Devonshire and Cornish coasts, large quantities of sand and gravel, washed down from the stream works, silting up the harbours. In the twenty-third year of Henry VIII. therefore an Act was passed for preventing this in certain ports, among which Plymouth stands first. Subsequent statutes were framed for the same purpose, and in the Act of Elizabeth, under which the water of the Meavy was brought to Plymouth, one of the principal uses of the leat is stated to be the scouring of the harbour. Another statute for the preservation of the haven of Plymouth became law in the reign of Queen Anne, the principal object of which was to deepen the water on a bank in Cattenwater, called the Middle Bank.

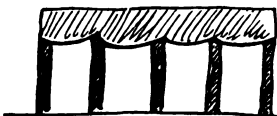
There are extant a few references to the gradual provision of commercial facilities on the banks of Sutton Pool which, incomplete though they are, merit preservation. Mention is made at a very early date of a Causey or Causeway at the upper part of the Pool, which it has been conjectured was used as a quay.

In 1573 the quays on Southside were built "from Barbican northward under full sea mark, 130 feet long and 44 broad, at a cost of £141 3s. 8d. A dozen years afterwards the Barbican stairs were erected. Foxhole quay seems to have been of older date. The

\* Leland.



mayoralty of William Jennings, 1662-3, is memorable in consequence of his having engaged the town in a law suit with Lord Arundell respecting the Pool, which after an outlay of £2,500 terminated adversely to the interests of Plymouth. The pool is stated to have been then worth £100 a year. In 1673 John



Lanyon erected an Exchange on the New Quay at his own expense,\* and during the term of office of

his successor a walk or exchange was built on the Southside. About this period therefore the commercial interests of the place appear to have made a fresh start. In 1694-5 the New Quay was paved, and in 1737-8 chains were fixed thereon, the gift of Captain Dufour. A very high tide on Freedom day eve, 1744, shattered the quays, threw down the Fish House, and damaged the town generally to the extent of £3,000. In 1749 the town water was carried to the Barbican for watering shipping. In 1753-4 another law suit arose concerning the Pool, limits being in question between the Corporation and Mr. T. Veal. The town for a short time was then actually deprived of its mace, which was taken away by the sheriff's officers as a penalty for neglect in not answering the citation. The Corporation was again cast. In 1762 the Barbican was washed down, and two members of the Collier family drowned. A furious storm early in January, 1787, again inflicted very serious damage upon the quays. A few years later, between 1791

\* The drawing of this building is copied from a MS. in the British Museum of a few years' later date.

and 1799, by the aid of a parliamentary grant, the entrance piers were built.

The most important stage in the history of the old harbour of Plymouth was reached in 1811 when the Sutton Harbour Company was incorporated by Act of Parliament, and the Duchy rights leased thereto. Subsequently the New, Southside, and Guy's Quays, and the other portions of the Pool frontage, which the Corporation own in right of representing the Priory, were leased to the company also. Prior to 1811 they brought in an income of £300; the Duchy dues amounting to between £400 and £500.\* Several schemes have from time to time been started for the improvement of the harbour. A bill was once prepared for the conversion of the Pool into a floating dock, but the consent of the Admiralty could not be obtained. Since then it has been proposed to make part of the Pool into a dock. A branch from the South Devon Railway communicates with its eastern shore.

Prior to the lease of the Corporation Quays to the Sutton Harbour Improvement Company, the following dues were paid :—"Moorage at the New Quay, or Southside Quay, 8d.; Quay dues on coals per quarter, 1d.; Bushelage on coals per quarter, 1d.; Quay dues for merchandise per ton, 2d.; use of a plank, 1s.; colliers, ditto, 2s.; load of hoops, 3d.; slate per thousand, 1d.; bricks per thousand, 4d.; earthenware per crate or cask, 1d.; hay, wood, &c., per barge, 2s. 6d.;

\* Sutton Pool has at various times been leased by the Duchy to the Corporation. In the reign of James I. it was held by the latter at a rental of £13 6s. 8d.

liquor per pipe, 1d. ; grain per sack,  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. ; water from the conduit, 1s. Fish jowters paid in kind." Mayor's dues are still collected on certain kinds of fish from boats which do not belong to the port.

Shipping dues were formerly collected for the governor of the Citadel, but have long been discontinued. Every British ship in Sutton Pool, Cattewater, or Hamoaze, paid 1s. 6d. ; every Spanish ship in Sutton Pool and Cattewater, 6s. 8d. ; in Hamoaze, 10s. ; whilst other foreign ships were let off for 2s. 6d. or 3s. respectively.

As the town grew in importance, so the desirability of turning the capacious inlet of Millbay to account became apparent. Centuries since, though Sutton Pool continued to be the harbour *par excellence*, Millbay was the resort of vessels, which were then accustomed to lie where the Octagon now is. The first attempt of importance to provide special accommodation was made in the formation of the Union Dock, of which Mr. W. H. Evens and the Messrs. Derry were the promoters, in what is now the southern angle between Martin and Phoenix Streets. Not long subsequently, in 1839, Mr. Thomas Gill laid a project for the erection of the Millbay Pier before a public meeting at the Guildhall ; and in the following year the Act was passed under which the pier was built, and a dock adjoining formed. Pier and dock were soon however to give place to a larger undertaking, the former to become subsidiary, and the latter to be obliterated altogether by being filled up.

The next step in the development of the capabilities of Millbay, and by consequence of the com-

merce of Plymouth, was the formation of the Great Western Docks Company, the Act for which was obtained in 1846. Mr. Brunel, the engineer of the South Devon and Cornwall Railways, was the engineer of the docks. Serious difficulties were experienced in carrying the works to completion; but at length, in February 1857, the floating basin was opened, though not formally, by taking in a vessel of 1100 tons for repairs. The pier and the whole of the water side of Millbay belong to the company. The fundus, as at Sutton Pool, was the property of the Duchy of Cornwall. The basin contains thirteen acres, with a depth of water of twenty-two feet. The length of the quay wall is 3,490 feet; and the area of the wharves around over fifteen acres. The entrance gates of the basin are eighty feet wide, and there is a depth on the cill at low water springs of ten feet three inches. Opening out of the basin is a graving dock 367 feet wide, with twenty-four feet of water on three and a half feet blocks. One of the chief advantages of the Docks is their deep water approach. Extensive warehouses have from time to time been added. A line of railway communicating with the South Devon system runs round the wharves, and there is a yard appropriated to the sampling of copper ores.\*

Until the formation of the Docks, Millbay being practically valueless was not considered in the local municipal and parochial arrangements. Subsequently

\* In 1834 Plymouth was made a stannary town, but the stannary privileges were abolished so soon afterwards that the appointment was never worth much. The first tin coinage took place at the Exchange March 25, 1835.

it was claimed as within the borough boundary, which includes a point called Eastern King. The Eastern King of the present day is the western boundary of Millbay; but when the case came on for trial in 1859 one of the chief points of the Dock Company's case was that the old Eastern King was on the western Hoe. It was argued further that the Act of Incorporation had a proviso that it "should not extend aught to the water of Tamar;" and that in compliance therewith the Corporation of Saltash, to whom the ancient jurisdiction of the "liberty of the river Thamar" belongs, had always exercised rights over the waters of Millbay.\* Sir Alexander Cockburn therefore gave judgment for the Company. Thus matters remained until 1868, when Millbay, as an extra parochial place, came under the provisions of an Act providing that all such localities should either become parishes themselves or be annexed to parishes adjoining. An attempt to constitute Millbay a distinct parish failing, and a desire on the part of Stonehouse for annexation being repelled, Millbay became united for parochial purposes to the parish of St. Andrew.

As Sutton Pool was the haven, so Cattewater was the roadstead, for the shipping of the port in the

\* The borough of Saltash, through its magistrates and its coroner, exercised for centuries an exclusive jurisdiction over the waters of the Tamar and of Plymouth Sound, its badge of authority being the silver oar. The county magistrates now have a concurrent jurisdiction with Saltash; but that borough is still entitled to dues in respect of the Cobbler Buoy—1s. from each English vessel, 6d. from each Spanish, and 2s. from each ship of other nations.

middle ages.\* The Sound, until the Breakwater was built, was not by any means a secure anchorage, and Cattewater, although somewhat exposed, became the general, as it now remains the commercial, roadstead. For the greatest safety the vessels which could not enter Sutton Pool resorted to Hamoaze when bad weather was expected—long before Dock was founded—but for convenience they lay in Cattewater whilst they could. This roadstead formerly belonged to the Morley family. The first earl laid chain moorings down there at a very considerable expense, and from him Government purchased it at a valuation.

The embankment of Chelson Bay, which gained for the Earl of Morley the gold medal of the Society of Arts, was undertaken in the spring of 1806, and completed in the autumn of 1817. The expenses amounted to £9,000, and the land reclaimed, 175 acres in extent, was valued at upwards of £20,000. Upon Chelson Meadow, since 1828, the Plymouth, Devonport, and Stonehouse races have been annually held; and a better piece of ground for the purpose it would be impossible to find in Devonshire. Here will be a convenient place to notice that the first regatta for the port came off in 1825, and that the Royal Western Yacht Club dates back to within a few years of that period. The Club House was originally at Millbay, then a capital yachting rendezvous; it is now upon the Hoe.

Proposals to extend a breakwater from Mount

\* Leland describes it as "a goodly Rode for great shippes betwixt the haven mouth and the creek of Schelleston," or Chelson, now Chelson Meadow.

Batten for the protection of Cattewater were made whilst the great Breakwater was in progress; and have been repeated many times, but as yet without result. The isthmus was protected by a sea wall at a very remote period, but this became broken down. An attempt to rebuild it about the year 1790 proved unsuccessful. The breakwater scheme was again revived in 1837; and has been talked of since.

Facilities for communication by land are as important to the welfare of a commercial port as the provision of quays and docks. Plymouth down to a comparatively recent period was very badly off in this particular. Raleigh, speaking in Parliament in 1593, mentions that Plymouth was in much danger of attack from Spain, seeing that no ordnance could be carried thither—"the passages will not give leave." Roads over which the ordnance of Elizabeth could not be carried did not afford many facilities for traffic. In these days, however, the goods were carried from town to town by long lines of pack-horses. The first post or running post between London, Exeter, and Plymouth, was established in 1635. Some twenty years later (1658) Northcote, then mayor, established a post-house for letters. There is an entry of eleven shillings, paid him by the Corporation for postage.

Cosmo de Medici with his suite, in 1669, took twelve days to go to London from Plymouth. No coachmaker was known in Plymouth until the reign of George III., and in the previous reign a coach could not be purchased nearer than Exeter. The first family coach is said to have been established by the Rogers family.

The first substantial improvement effected was by the formation of the Old Exeter or Eastern Turnpike Road, the Act for which passed 31st George II. Next came the Tavistock Turnpike under an Act bearing date 44th George III.

Down to nearly 100 years ago the communication between Dock and Plymouth was of a miserable description, consisting of the road by Mill Bridge, and a ferry on the site of the present Stonehouse Bridge, the boats of which were pulled by ropes. In 1767 the Act was passed which empowered the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe and Sir John St. Aubyn to build Stonehouse Bridge (finished in 1773); and in 1784 that for constituting a turnpike. Carriages first began to ply for hire between the towns in 1775.\* The turnpike notwithstanding, twenty years later it was a matter of complaint that the road through Stonehouse Lane and Fore Street, Stonehouse, was inconveniently narrow. The road by Millbay, originally a lane leading to the paper mills, was not then completed, and was also very contracted near Plymouth. Union Road "through the marshes" was not opened until 1815. These marshes, where snipes have been shot by Plymouthians yet living, were very desolate and dreary at night; and it was once the custom for those who had to go from one town to the other after sunset to wait until a little party had collected, sufficiently strong to repel attack, before commencing to traverse them. The turnpike gate was at the junction of Ply-

\* The hackney carriages with the boats and wherries of the Three Towns are regulated by Commissioners appointed under an Act passed in 1843.



mouth and Stonehouse. In April, 1828, six hackney coaches were started to run at appointed times between the two towns. These were the precursors of the modern 'busses. During the present year a tramway will be laid by a company between the eastern end of Union Street and the western end of Ker Street.

The Modbury and Saltash Turnpikes were authorised 4th George IV. The operations of the Embankment Company, which was empowered to embank the Laira by an Act of the 42nd and 43rd George III., led to the formation of the new eastern road, which completely superseded the old one by Lipson within a very few years of its formation. The substitution of the Laira for the "flying" bridge (itself a substantial improvement on the ferry) by the Earl of Morley, tended greatly to facilitate the communication of Plymouth with the South Hams' district. The foundation stone of this structure was laid in 1824, and it was opened in 1827, on the 14th of July, when the Duchess of Clarence (afterwards Queen Adelaide) and suite passed over it. Mr. Rendel, the engineer, projected a suspension bridge over the Tamar at Saltash.

The Dartmoor Railway, the first of its kind to call for notice, was a work of considerable importance for the time when it was undertaken. It was introduced to the public in 1818 by Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, the father of modern reclamation works upon Dartmoor, and the originator of Prince Town. The accommodation at Plymouth early in this century for prisoners of war being very inadequate and inconvenient, Sir Thomas suggested that they should be transferred to

Dartmoor, and in 1806 laid the first stone of the present prisons. Prince Town thus created, it became a question how it was to obtain the necessary supplies, and in 1818 Sir Thomas laid before the Plymouth Chamber of Commerce his project for the establishment of a horse railway between the prisons and Crabtree. The scheme commended itself, and was fairly started. In 1819 the first authorising Act was passed; in the following year Parliament approved of a two-mile extension from Crabtree to Sutton Pool; and in 1821 a third Act gave powers of variation. The total capital authorised was £39,983, government being empowered to lend £18,000 for the extension to Plymouth. Twenty-three miles, from the town to King Tor, Walkhampton, were opened in 1823 with a public procession. The total length of the line is twenty-four miles, and there is a tunnel at Leigham 630 yards in length. Mr. Hopkins was the engineer. The undertaking has never paid. In the first place it was heavily mortgaged to the contractor in consequence of the expense of construction far exceeding the estimate. In the next, from the downfall of Napoleon until the formation of the convict establishment there was no one at Prince Town to supply. Lastly, the line is not laid out in the best possible manner, and in these days of locomotives is behind the age. Several proposals have been made to improve it, and a portion was utilised in the formation of the South Devon Goods Branch to Sutton Pool. For the rest it has been found of service chiefly in connection with the Dartmoor Granite quarries.

Under the old coaching system the main road from

Cornwall to London was by Launceston and Exeter. The construction of the South Devon and Cornwall Railways has changed the course of the stream of traffic; and it now flows through Plymouth, greatly to the advantage of that community. Attempts have been made to restore the old route by the formation of a Central Cornwall and associated lines; but these have failed, and there is no probability of any future scheme of the kind being more successful. The South Devon Railway was authorised in 1844; and it was laid out by its engineer, Mr. I. K. Brunel, as an atmospheric line. Upon that principle it was opened as far as Teignmouth; but experience proving that the atmospheric system, however pretty in theory, failed in practice, the company had to fall back upon the locomotive, which they had hoped to supersede.\* The effect of this was that a sum of about £400,000 was lost. The railway was opened to Laira in 1848, and in 1849 to its present terminus at Millbay. It was at first proposed that there should be a station for the Three Towns in the Five Fields, then open ground, just at the point where the Cornwall line now branches off; but other counsels prevailed. Had there been any idea at that time that the traffic would have developed to its present extent different arrangements

\* Under the atmospheric system the carriages were propelled by means of the pressure of the air upon pistons to which they were attached. These pistons worked in huge tubes laid between the rails. The air being exhausted in front by stationary steam-engines, the pressure behind forced the pistons on, and with them the carriages. The practical difficulties which put an end to this system have been avoided in pneumatic despatch tubes, the principle of which is precisely similar, by enclosing the despatch carriage wholly in the tube.

would certainly have been made, as the accommodation has had to be increased at a heavy expense by the removal of the Royal Union Baths,\* of the eastern side of Bath Street, and of other properties; and is still barely sufficient. Moreover, the station is not worthy of the town.

The Tavistock branch of the South Devon line, which was made by an independent company, was opened in 1859; and the extension, also the work of a separate incorporation, from Tavistock to Launceston in 1865. The Cornwall line, after much delay, very serious financial difficulties having to be overcome, was opened in 1859; thus placing Plymouth in direct railway communication with the whole of the sister county.

Several contests have taken place in Parliament between the broad and narrow gauge interests with respect to Plymouth; and the Devon and Cornwall Railway Company, which has connected Okehampton with the North Devon Railway, and thus with the whole of the South-Western system, is now engaged in completing the last link of the chain, between Okehampton and Lidford on the Launceston and South

\* The Baths stood on the south of Union Street, where the incline to the railway goods shed now commences. Their foundation-stone was laid by Admiral Sir Byam Martin, then M.P. for the borough, by command of the Duke of Clarence as patron, in 1828. The water was brought in pipes from near the Rusty Anchor. A few years after the erection of the building a spa was discovered and a pump-room added. The waters were obtained from a depth of 360 feet, and contained in the imperial pint  $\frac{1}{100}$  cubic inches of carbonic acid gas; chloride of sodium, 96.64 grains; muriate of magnesia, 18.68; muriate of lime, 15.10; sulphate of soda, 9.55; sulphate of lime, 8.94; carbonate of lime, 2.06; carbonate of iron, 0.69.

Devon line. When this connection is made the work will be practically accomplished, since the Devon and Cornwall Company have running powers over the Launceston and Tavistock branch to Plymouth. As the old road from Plymouth to London was through Tavistock and Okehampton, this will in reality be restoring an ancient channel of traffic.

Stage coaches are quite out of date now-a-days; but a few notes concerning them may be acceptable. It was not until 1762 that any regular passenger communication was set up between Plymouth and distant localities. In that year a "diligence" was put on to Exeter, performing the distance in twelve hours. Thirty years later there were two coaches from Plymouth (or rather Dock, that town being the terminus of the up-country traffic) to Exeter daily, fares 14s. 6d. and 7s. 6d. There were two London waggons twice a week each, a Launceston waggon weekly, and a Barnstaple waggon fortnightly. Chartered vessels sailed to London and Bristol; and hoys to Portsmouth were "generally to be heard of" at the Seven Stars, North Corner. By the time another thirty years had elapsed, six stage coaches were running daily up country; one daily and one alternate days into Cornwall. The "fly waggons" from London used to take four and a half days to reach Exeter.

Steam made its influence felt before the advent of the railways. The Plymouth, Devonport, Portsmouth, and Falmouth Steam Packet Company was formed in 1822 through the exertions of Mr. John Hawker. The Brunswick and Sir Francis Drake—names ever memorable in connection with the early history of

steam navigation in the port of Plymouth—were running to Torquay, Cowes, and Portsmouth, and to Falmouth, Guernsey and Jersey, respectively in 1836; whilst the London and Liverpool Companies plied to London, Liverpool, Falmouth, Cork, Dublin, and Belfast. The South Devon United Shipping Company (established 1828) had seven schooners on the line between London and Plymouth; and the Plymouth and London Union Shipping Company eight, engaged in coasting; whilst there were two Bristol traders.

All the coaches have been run off the road, that to Kingsbridge alone excepted, by the extension westward of the railway system. The home steamer arrangements remain in effect almost unchanged; but the port has been put into direct and regular communication with many distant parts of the world. The Cape Mail steamers, after calling since 1850, have been, during the present year, it is believed for a time only, removed to Southampton. The West India and a line of New York mail steamers regularly call. Moreover for nearly thirty years the port has been a Government Emigration Dépôt, and is now practically the only one.

The first grant of a market at Plymouth was made about the year 1253, to be held on Thursdays, with a fair of three days at the festival of St. John the Baptist. Four years afterwards, Baldwin de L'Isle, had a grant of a Wednesday market, and a fair of three days at the festival of the Ascension. Under the monastic rule the markets belonged to the Priory, but when the town was incorporated passed to the

Corporation. It is recorded that the shambles were built in 1606, at the time the penultimate Guildhall was founded. Exactly fifty years later shambles in Old Town were erected. The principal market was, however, under the Guildhall. In 1671 the weights and measures were reformed, and the "town's bushel" was set up in the market place. In 1693 fish shambles were built. These were in Whimble Street, near the entrance to the Church Alley; and were known in after time as the Old Fish Cage. Connected with them was the Guard House, removed fifty years later to the Guildhall. The Barbican is now the wholesale fish market of the port, and a very busy appearance does it present in the height of the fishing season.

The removal of the old Guildhall, and improvements adjoining St. Andrew Church, rendered the provision of a new market necessary, and on the 8th of May, 1800, the foundation-stone of the present market buildings, neither the design nor arrangement of which are any credit to those concerned, was laid. The site was an open field with a pond of water wherein a boy had been drowned. Prior to the establishment of the Cattle Market in the Tavistock Road, the cattle were exposed for sale in the open space between the Market and the back of Old Town Street. The first letting of the market-tolls by auction took place in 1809, when they realised £900.

The mayor in old time was clerk of the markets; and according to the narrative of a visitor to the town a century and a half ago enjoyed a very good *quid pro quo*, the revenues of the shambles, which were farmed out at £160 a year, being employed for the



maintenance of his worship's kitchen. At that time there were three market days a week; whilst, says the writer, "the great number of foreign ships that touch here makes a market every day."

There was formerly a Yarn Market held in St. Andrew churchyard. This fell into disuse early in the seventeenth century, but was revived in 1651, and afterwards discontinued. The following is the order for its re-establishment:—"31st January, 1651. Whereas there hath been antiently a Yarn Markett weekly kept within this borough, tho' for some late years intermitted: It is this day in open sessions, in due consideration thereupon had, and for divers good reasons then alleged, as well for the public good of the adjacent parts as for the benefit of this place, ordered and hereby published and declared, that on Thursday, the 26th February next, there be a Yarn Markett kept within the Borough in the Church Yard between the hours of ten and twelve in the forenoon, and so weekly on Thursday thenceforward to continue. And all persons who are concerned herein may take notice, that they may come and attend on the days and time, and at the place aforesaid, and then and there buy and sell wool yarn as formerly, and have the weighing of their yarn free for one year next ensuing."

A Cloth Fair was once held in November in Old Town Street, where the cab-stand is now placed; sweetmeat and trinket stalls occupying Whimple Street and Bilbury Street. At this fair the clothiers from Somersetshire used to assemble in great numbers with cloths and blankets, and a very large trade was realised. As the manufacture fell off so did the fair.



That the fisheries of the port were deemed of great importance at a very early period\* there is abundant evidence, from the numerous acts and by-laws made for their regulation still extant. In 1384 Parliament decreed that all fish caught in the waters of Sutton, Plymouth, and Tamar should be exposed for sale in Plymouth and Aish (Saltash) only. And among other notices concerning them may be quoted an order of 1566, "that no alien or foreigner do land or buy above 1000 fresh pilchards" on penalty of forfeiting 5s.; whilst in 1581 it was declared that no one should buy or sell above 5000 fresh pilchards in any one day, unless there was danger of their spoiling, aliens as before being limited to the thousand.

During the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., pilchards formed a chief branch of the town's exports; the old curing-house standing upon a ridge of rocks at Teat's (Tate's) Hill, blown up to make room for the eastern pier at the entrance of Sutton Pool. The erection of fish warehouses at Cawsand and other places in the neighbourhood was regarded by the Plymouthians with extreme jealousy. They frequently complained to the Lords of the Privy Council of those who carried fish taken there to any other places than Plymouth, Stonehouse, Millbrook, or Saltash; and in consequence an order was issued for the sale of two-thirds of the fish taken at Cawsand in Plymouth. Near the Grotto in Whitsand Bay were once the remains of quays and other buildings

\* There is a record that 500 years since the fishermen were accustomed to dry their nets on the borders of Sutton Pool. The commerce of the port is a development of its fisheries.

appropriated to a pilchard fishery.\* Later still a fishery was established at Port Wrinkle. The Newfoundland fishery was also carried on with considerable vigour, until abolished by the turn given by war to the avocations of the port. Indeed "about the end of the seventeenth and the commencement of the eighteenth century, when from various conspiring causes, Plymouth seemingly enjoyed a greater share of trade than at any other, the Pollexfens, Rogerses, Tre-lawnys of Ham, Hewers of Manadon, Fowneses, and Calmadys, accumulated large fortunes from the fisheries and other sources."†

At the commencement of the last century, the merchants of Plymouth drove a "considerable trade to Virginia, the Sugar Islands, and the Streights."

\* Some years ago the late Mr. Jonathan Couch, F.L.S., published extracts from the ledger of Richard Trevill, "an eminent merchant in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, from whom and the members of his house a street in Plymouth derived its name." Trevill seems to have been a very spirited man. He erected fish cellars at Kingsand and Cawsand, and exported "fumados," now commonly called "fairmaids," to Bordeaux, Rochelle, Spain, and Naples, between 1597 and 1600.

† The fortunes of several county families were laid at Plymouth. The Fowneses bought Plympton Priory lands at the dissolution, that property subsequently passing to the Luttrells, of Dunster. The Yonges, of Puslinch, spring from Dr. Yonge, a celebrated physician of Plymouth. He obtained the estate by marrying Mary, daughter and heir of William Upton, who died in 1709. The founder of the Symonses, of Chaddlewood—now represented by Mr. Soltau-Symons—William Symons, an alderman of Plymouth, bought that property of the heirs of Elford Sparke, the Sparkes being likewise Plymouthians. The Julians are another old Plymouth family; in 1744 John Julian bought Kingston. The quotation in the text is from Burt's "Review of the Commerce of the Port of Plymouth" (1815), a valuable work, from which many of the subsequent facts in this chapter are derived.

Exeter, or rather Topsham, then had the most considerable trade and shipping of any port in the county, Dartmouth coming next, whilst the Bideford Newfoundland trade was exceeded by London only. Saltash too was at that period a populous trading town. Testimony to the importance of the commerce of Plymouth at this time is borne by the fact that soon after the destruction of Winstanley's Eddystone Lighthouse, the *Winchelsea*, a Virginia-man belonging to Sir John Rogers of Plymouth, was wrecked upon the rocks in the night, and all hands lost. The colonial trade long continued to bring wealth to the town. In the middle of the century sixteen vessels annually sailed out of Oreston and Plymouth for the West Indies, and twelve others to and from different parts of America. One of the earliest manufactures in connection with the port arose out of this traffic—the establishment of a sugar refinery. The canes were brought home and ground in a mill about three-quarters of a mile from the town, near the right hand of the old Exeter road. The mill was worked by a horizontal wheel, and after its disuse was commonly mistaken for an old fort.\*

An old inhabitant of the town, verging on eighty in 1814, could remember when "the Parade was full of hogsheads of sugar, rum, rice, tobacco, and every colonial produce, the property of the merchants, par-

\* As an illustration of the manner in which a bye-traffic sprung up out of this colonial trade, Burt mentions that thirty vessels used to sail to London for bricks, and then return to Plymouth for quenched lime packed in the hogsheads in which sugar had been brought home. Before the American war a large quantity of slate, squared and packed in boxes, was transmitted to that country.

ticularly the great Mr. Morshead, the leading man of the Corporation; this was in the year previous to the French war in 1755. During the peace that followed in 1763 a number of spirited gentleman embarked in the Newfoundland fishery, and succeeded; the town received the advantage, and would have gained the superiority over Dartmouth in that trade, but the war breaking out put a stop to all commercial enterprise. . . . Wealth flowing in from the lucrative channel of prizes and prize goods without hazard, the foreign pursuits are soon forgotten, and being a King's Port, on the first impress the seamen fly to London, Bristol, and Liverpool, where they are not easily pressed. Consequently all trade is stagnated."\*

The effect of the wars with America and with France was indeed almost to destroy the legitimate commerce of the port. The activity displayed at the Dockyard reacted on the towns of Plymouth and Dock, and the other influences of a great arsenal in time of war were exerted to an extent perhaps unequalled elsewhere. Privateering was much in vogue. The port moreover was the greatest emporium in the country for prize ships and goods.† "Hence a forced prosperity, a rapidly augmented population, and an active spirit of speculation," which in a short time

\* Burt's "Review."

† In the period from February, 1793, to Michaelmas, 1801, 948 prize ships were examined at Plymouth, besides others examined before arrival. This is but a fair sample of the rest of the war time. It is needless to enlarge upon the opportunities for money making which such a continuous influx of prizes afforded. The captors were far more anxious to turn their captures into money than to get the exact value of their goods.

effected a complete change in the condition of the inhabitants and the aspect of their affairs; and which when the war ceased produced a state of collapse. Gloomy indeed did the prospects of the port appear when Napoleon was finally subjugated. When the war ended the traffic which had sprung out of it ceased likewise; and the pursuits of peace so long neglected required time for their development. All classes suffered. Men of capital from the closing of the channels through which it had hitherto flowed. Proprietors of houses, who had made exorbitant rents, in some instances single rooms letting for £10 a year, from the sudden decrease of population caused by the restriction of the operations at the public establishments. The operative classes from want of employment, which caused the workhouse to overflow with tenants.

There were not wanting efforts to remedy this sad condition of affairs. For the immediate relief of the workmen a committee was formed, under whose directions the marine road below the Hoe was constructed by the unemployed in 1817. Vigorous attempts were also made to resuscitate commerce. It was emphatically asked, "Can it be contended that a state of peace is to consign to decay a large and flourishing town and inhabitants, placed in the immediate vicinity of harbours which appear to be designed by nature to invite man to the pursuits of commercial industry?"

The most practical answer to this question was supplied by the formation in 1813 of the Port of Plymouth Chamber of Commerce, under the presi-

dency of the first Earl of Morley, whose successors in the title have continued to be its chairmen. The Chamber had the advantage of a very energetic secretary, Mr. W. Burt,\* who was most fruitful in projects for the welfare of the port. Several of these under more propitious circumstances have been carried out, notably his suggestions with regard to the utilisation of Millbay.

Mr. Edmund Lockyer, one of the most energetic citizens of his day, and one of the greatest promoters of local improvements, laid a scheme before the Chamber in 1814 for the formation of associations to build or purchase vessels fit for and to engage in the coal and culm trades, Baltic trade, Greenland fishery, Colonial trade, for the establishment of a Sugar Refinery, the conversion of Sutton Pool into a wet dock, and the establishment of East India packets.†

A good deal of interest was taken in the schemes which were thus launched for the revival of commerce; and among other attempts to aid the work in hand, the Exchange in Woolster Street was built, but proved an unfortunate speculation. In truth the time was not ripe for the success which was so eagerly anticipated. Not that the efforts made were thrown away; but commerce is a plant of slow growth, and its fruitage was deferred. However, the

\* The author of the "Review."

† Mr. H. Woollcombe at this time estimated the capital of the port at £5,466,000, made up as follows:—Real property, £190,000; funded ditto, £3,000,000; annual income from professions, trades, &c., £276,000; private property in mere moveables, not less than £1,000,000; Government ditto, more than £1,000,000.

immediate result of the energy displayed was to revive the West India and Newfoundland trades.

Slowly the commerce of the port began to spring into renewed existence; and the tide once turned it flowed steadily in the direction of extended business connections, and increased wealth. With a few intervals of temporary depression the history of the commerce of Plymouth during the last fifty years has been one of progress; that progress having proceeded in a greatly increased ratio since the extension to the town of the railway system, and being fostered by and fostering the improvements which have been made in Sutton Pool and in Millbay.

Taking the last ten years we find that the commerce of Plymouth has exhibited very great fluctuations. The amount of duties received has varied from £227,572, in the financial year ending March 31st, 1868, to £113,279 in the year ending March last. This falling off is partially accounted for by alterations in the tariff, by which some of the chief articles imported at Plymouth have been relieved; partly by the depression consequent upon the war between France and Prussia. The past year shows a total of 1,105 entries inwards and outwards in the foreign trade; and 4,579 in the coasting: 373 vessels were registered, their total tonnage being 42,569. This last item exhibits an almost steady decrease from 1863, when the figures were 463 ships, and 51,067 tons. The averages for the ten years have been:—£177,221 duties; 1,060 entries foreign trade; 4,650 coasting; 429 ships of 47,935 tons registered. In 1800 there were 120 ships belonging to the port. Within the same period the

trawlers have increased sixfold. The supply of fish to places at a distance (now so greatly extended by the railway) commenced about fifty years ago, when fish used to be sent to Bath.

The port standing eighth in population in the kingdom ranks about sixth in trade. It is second for cattle, fourth for saltpetre and sugar, fifth for hemp and hides, seventh for wine and wood, and ninth for corn. These form the principal articles of import. In cargoes the chief trade is with France, the Channel Islands coming second, and Spain third. Sweden, South America and the West Indies, Russia, Portugal, British North America and Holland, stand next in importance. In addition to the articles named above, the imports last year included bricks, brimstone, bones, brandy, blubber, copper ore, cheese, chocolate, coffee, eggs, fruit, fish, glass, guano, hoops, ice, nitrate of potash, oranges, phosphate of lime, pyrites, plaster of Paris, potatoes, seeds, tin, valonia, vegetables, wool, whiskey, and other matters.

The Custom House on the Parade was erected in 1820, at a cost of £8,000, from designs by Mr. Laing.

Smuggling is now all but unknown; but at the commencement of the present century and long afterwards was actively carried on, Cawsand and the Yealm being its chief centres. A very good story is told of one of the heads of the Cawsand party. He was pounced upon one day by a custom-house officer, carrying a suspicious-looking keg over Maker Heights. In spite of his protestations he was carried off to head-quarters, the officer (it was a hot summer's after-



noon) shouldering the cause of offence. Safely arrived with his prisoner, he at once proceeded to test the quality of the liquor by a suction pipe, and was rewarded with a mouthful of excellent pigs'-wash! The trick was at once seen, and the crestfallen official afterwards discovered that while he had been thus got out of the way a whole cargo had been run. Upon another occasion a large quantity of spirit was taken in broad daylight before the door of an excise officer resident in Yealmpton, he watching it as it passed, unsuspecting that there was anything under the hay with which the barrels were covered.

The internal trade of the town next claims attention.

Burt quotes from Bayley's "Western and Midland Directory" for 1783, the number of merchants, professional men, and tradesmen in Plymouth in that year, and gives a somewhat similar statistical statement for the year 1814, compiled by Mr. Shephard, then collector of taxes. We put this information in a tabular form, with the addition of the number of principals engaged in the respective occupations for the year 1870, as gathered from the latest directory. It must be premised that the comparison, though sufficiently accurate for the indication of the remarkable commercial progress of the town, is only an approximate one. This arises chiefly from the fact that the amalgamation and distribution of trades were governed by different principles fifty years since to what they are now. However, the defects in classification admitted, the statement is neither without interest nor value.

## TRADES AND PROFESSIONS.

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	1783	1814	1870
Attornies, &c. . . . .	12	...	65
Auctioneers, Salesmen, &c. . . . .	4	...	15
Brewers, Wine Merchants, &c. . . . .	6	13	53
Braziers and Plumbers . . . . .	2	4	8
Blockmakers . . . . .	2	3	8
Brushmakers . . . . .	1	2	8
Bankers . . . . .	3	3	5*
Brokers . . . . .	4	...	18
Bagmakers . . . . .	1	...	3
Barristers . . . . .	1	...	3
Bakers and Confectioners . . . . .	1	33	140
Boot and Shoemakers . . . . .	...	24	94
Butchers . . . . .	...	21	109
Cabinet-makers . . . . .	5	13	33
Carpenters and Builders . . . . .	1	33	96
Corn Factors . . . . .	1	...	38
Chemists . . . . .	3	7	38
Coachmakers . . . . .	1	2	10
Curriers . . . . .	2	8	10
Cheese-mongers . . . . .	1	...	...
Cutlers . . . . .	1	...	5
Coopers . . . . .	...	13	5
Drapers, Hosiers, &c. . . . .	18	18	100
Dyers . . . . .	...	3	3
Earthenware Dealers . . . . .	2	4	10
Gunsmiths . . . . .	1	...	3
Grocers and Tea Dealers . . . . .	9	50	104
Hatters . . . . .	1	7	16
Ironmongers, Ship-chandlers . . . . .	4	13	28
Maltsters . . . . .	...	2	7
Masons, &c. . . . .	1	21	56
Merchants . . . . .	11	35	17
Physicians . . . . .	4	...	9
Pawnbrokers . . . . .	...	9	37
Painters and Glaziers . . . . .	...	14	46
Printers and Booksellers . . . . .	1†	11	40

\* This is simply the number of banks.

† Printer only.

	1783	1814	1870
Ropemakers . . . . .	2	5	8
Smiths . . . . .	15	...	27
Silversmiths . . . . .	4	12	29
Sailcloth-makers . . . . .	...	2	1
Sailmakers . . . . .	4	14	4
Shipbuilders . . . . .	7	10	8
Surgeons, &c. . . . .	10	...	40
Sadlers . . . . .	...	5	5
Tallow-chandlers . . . . .	3	7	5
Tanners . . . . .	1	5	2
Tin-men . . . . .	...	8	11
Tailors . . . . .	...	33	80
Tobacconists . . . . .	2	...	21
Victuallers, Beershop-keepers, &c. . . . .	...	124	412
Wool-staplers . . . . .	...	4	1

Banking was first introduced into the town barely a century since, the first bank being established in 1772 by Barings, Lee, Sellon, and Tingcombe, the second, the Naval Bank, in 1773, by Harris, Turner, and Herbert. The former, the Plymouth Bank (then Elford, Tingcombe, and Clark), stopped payment in 1825. This caused wide-spread suffering. There are now five banks in the town:—The Naval, Bank of England, Devon and Cornwall (established as the Plymouth and Devonport in 1832, and of which Plymouth is the head quarters), West of England and South Wales district, and London and South Western. The Plymouth and South Devon Savings Bank occupies the premises once held by the Plymouth Bank.

The general trade of the town has assumed a more wholesale character within the past twenty years. The development of the local railway system has made it the business metropolis of Cornwall, and of

the greater part of Devon. Wholesale houses in the different branches of shop trades—drapery, grocery, and the like—have been established; and even in reference to building operations, the erection of sawing, planing, and moulding mills\* has largely contributed to increase the timber trade of the port, and by preparing the wood to a greater extent for the workmen to reduce the quantity of manual labour required in the district.

Plymouth, like most old commercial towns, once possessed several trade guilds, no trace of which—except documentary—now remains. In the old Guildhall the different marks used by the merchants were represented in the panels. Numerous tokens struck during the 17th century have been preserved. They form a curious memorial of the local trade and traders of that day; and moreover indicate by their number that business two hundred years since was undeniably brisk. For most of the coins referred to in the following list we are indebted to Boyce's excellent work upon the subject.

LEGEND.	FIELD.
<i>Obv.</i> Abraham Appelbee,	A ship in full sail.
<i>Rev.</i> Of Plymouth, 1666.	A.M.A.
<i>Obv.</i> Grace Elliott,	Mercers' Arms.
<i>Rev.</i> Of Plymouth.	G.E.
<i>Obv.</i> James Jackson, at the	The Sun.
<i>Rev.</i> Svnv, in Plymouth, 1651.	I.G.I.
<i>Obv.</i> Will. Movntstevens,	1670.
<i>Rev.</i> Of Plymouth.	W.P.M.

\* First established by Messrs. Bayly and Fox.

LEGEND.	FIELD.
<i>Obv.</i> Edward Pateson, <i>Rev.</i> In Plymovth.	Drapers' Arms. E. A. P.
<i>Obv.</i> Simon Paynter, of <i>Rev.</i> Plymovth, 1657.	Four Castles, two and two. S. A. P.
<i>Obv.</i> Richard Perry, 1658, <i>Rev.</i> In Plymovth.	Man making Candles. R. D. P.
<i>Obv.</i> Henry Pike, at the Three <i>Rev.</i> Cranes, in Plymovth.	Three Cranes. H. P. conjoined.
<i>Obv.</i> William Reepe, <i>Rev.</i> Of Plymovth.	1616. W. I. R.
<i>Obv.</i> William Tom, Grocer, <i>Rev.</i> In Plimovth, 1666.	Arms of Tom family, three Bucks' heads couped. Crest—a Cornish Chough. His half peny. W. T.
<i>Obv.</i> William Warren, <i>Rev.</i> In Plymovth, 1656.	A Fleece. W. I. W.
<i>Obv.</i> William Weeks, <i>Rev.</i> In Plymovth, 1659.	A clasped Book. W. S. W.
<i>Obv.</i> Benjamin Dvnnning, <i>Rev.</i> In Plymovth, 1666.	A Castle. B. D.
<i>Obv.</i> Nicholas Cole, <i>Rev.</i> Of Plymovth, 1665.	A full-blown Rose. N. C.
<i>Obv.</i> Henry Clarke, <i>Rev.</i> Of Plimouth, 1667.	A Lion rampant. H. M. C.
<i>Obv.</i> Christopher Hatch, <i>Rev.</i> Of Plymouth, 1658.	A Swan. C. R. H.
<i>Obv.</i> Iohn Cooke, <i>Rev.</i> In Plymovth.	Arms—a Chevron between three Pears. I. M. C.
<i>Obv.</i> Margret Eaton, <i>Rev.</i> In Plimovth, 1665.	The Apothecaries' Arms. M. E.
<i>Obv.</i> Ivdith Ford, <i>Rev.</i> Of Plymovth.	1669. I. F.
<i>Obv.</i> Ioachim Gevers, <i>Rev.</i> Of Plymovth.	Castle. 1656. I. A. G.

LEGEND.	FIELD.
<i>Obv.</i> Michael Hooke, Grocer,	The Grocers' Arms.
<i>Rev.</i> In Plymouth, 1667.	His half penny.
<i>Obv.</i> Samvill Northcott,	S.N.
<i>Rev.</i> Postma in Plymouth.	1653.
<i>Obv.</i> Roger Oliver, 1663,	Arms—a Chevron between three trees, each on a Mount. (?)
<i>Rev.</i> In Plymoth, Mercer.	R.O.
<i>Obv.</i> Iohn Payne,	A Pelican feeding its young.
<i>Rev.</i> In Plymouth.	1656. I.P.
<i>Obv.</i> Tho. Pike, at y <sup>e</sup> 4	The Arms of Plymouth.
<i>Rev.</i> Castles in Plymoth.	I.P. 1657.
<i>Obv.</i> Henry Davis,	His half-penny.
<i>Rev.</i> H.D.	Plymouth, 1669.
<i>Obv.</i> William Warren,	A Lamb suspended.
<i>Rev.</i> In Plymouth.	W.W. between four cinquefoils.
<i>Obv.</i> Plymouth Half-penny,	Man at a Loom.
<i>Rev.</i> Sail-canvas Manufactory, 1796.	Woman spinning at a wheel.

Though Plymouth is not in the strict sense of the term a manufacturing town, still it has rarely been (and is not) without manufactures, some of which have attained to considerable importance, whilst others have become extinct. We are indebted to Burt, not only for a statement of the manufactures existing in his day, but for a record of those which had then either disappeared altogether, or were upon the eve of being lost.

The first extinct concern of which he speaks is a linseed oil mill by the road to Coxside, of the existence of which he had only been able to recover a bare tradition. Next he refers to the sugar mill and refinery already mentioned, and then to the "China House."

Plymouth was the seat of the manufacture of the first true porcelain made in England; and to the founder of the old Plymouth Pottery is Cornwall indebted for the discovery of her great mineral resources in china clay and china stone, the development of which has added so much to her prosperity. William Cookworthy, a member of the Society of Friends, was born at Kingsbridge in the year 1705. When he arrived at manhood he removed to Plymouth, and engaged in the drug business in a house in Notte Street. In the year 1745 an American directed his attention to the materials used in the manufacture of porcelain, by shewing him some specimens of the kaolin and petuntse of the Chinese potters. This led Cookworthy to make investigations in the neighbouring county, where at length he discovered what he sought, according to Polwhele, in the burrows or refuse heaps of a mine near Helston. This event is believed to have taken place about the year 1755. Not long afterwards, about 1760, he established his pottery works at Coxside. At this place they were carried on for some years with fair success; but at length Cookworthy—who died in 1780—transferred his patent right to Mr. Champion of Bristol, who removed the manufacture to that city. There it failed, and eventually the patent passed into the hands of Staffordshire proprietors. Cookworthy is said to have procured a painter and enameller from Sevres for the decoration of his ware; and Bone, the celebrated enamel painter (a native of Probus), learnt his art and was brought up in the manufactory. While the pottery was at work there was such a demand for

the china that it could hardly be made fast enough. Wood was the principal fuel consumed, and from fifty to sixty persons were engaged in the various processes. Plymouth china is much valued among collectors, and fine specimens fetch very high prices. Its distinctive mark is the character used in astronomy to denote Jupiter, and by the alchemists to signify copper ♃. Almost continuously from the days of the China House until now earthenware of various kinds has been manufactured at Plymouth, and there is still a pottery at which coarse ware is produced.

The woollen manufacture, which was almost extinct when Burt wrote, and died out altogether long since, was introduced into Plymouth by the Messrs. Shepherd, who came originally from Northampton in the latter part of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century. The woollen trade of Plymouth attained its greatest prosperity more than a hundred years since; and on the breaking out of the first American war began to decline. It flourished most under Mr. William Shepherd, grandson of its original introducer; and as Mr. Stert, member for Plymouth for a quarter of century subsequently to 1727, paid the rent of warehouses at Coxside during his membership, one of Mr. Shepherd's ships was always named the Stert in honour of this liberality. Mr. Shepherd was one of the most enterprising men the port ever possessed. He paid from £1,200 to £1,500 weekly in wages—500 or 600 guineas weekly in Plymouth alone—and invariably gave a tenth of his annual profits to the poor. At Plymouth there was a large manufactory of broad baize, the tucking mills being



at Yealm Bridge. The number of woolcombers was about 60, earning 15s. a week; spinners 800, 3s. to 5s.; weavers 300, 9s.; warpers and tuckers 15s., spolers and children, 3s. Many of the children took home work in the morning, and returned with it the next morning, when they received sixpence and more work. Mr. Shepherd was also engaged in fellmongering,\* and had six coasting vessels. "The baizes and cloth manufactured from coarse wool, not disposed of in Plymouth or the neighbourhood, were sent to North America, in exchange for tar and turpentine (which were taken by the manufactory of tar, oil of tar, pitch and rosin, at Stonehouse, lately belonging to Luscombe and Co.), masts, &c., &c. On the breaking out of the first American war this extensive concern began to decline; and though a magnificent procession of the woolcombers at Plymouth took place in 1783 on the return of peace, and the business was continued after Mr. Shepherd's death by his sons with sufficient success to warrant hopes of its reviving, yet the whole has mouldered away or been dispersed into distant quarters, except one solitary remnant—a small white serge manufactory carried on by Mr. Codd, in Old Town."†

Of manufactories existing in the port—not in the town—at the date when he wrote, Burt enumerates—excluding simple trades:—A salt refinery of such antiquity that it was among those privileged in the time of Queen Anne, when an Act of Parliament was passed prohibiting the erection of new refineries

\* This branch of industry was not followed in Burt's time.

† Burt's "Review of the Commerce of the Port of Plymouth."

except in places containing salt pits or springs, and contributing in 1814 at the rate of £12,000 a year to the revenue; five tallow factories; a nail factory (in Colmer's Lane); a brown paper mill at Millbay;\* a writing slate and pencil manufactory at Lee Mill, near Ivybridge, delivering two slates per minute; two potteries, one manufacturing coarse ware of clay imported from Bideford, and the other "cream coloured, or Queen's ware, painted, printed, and enamelled ware," of clay from Cornwall, Teignmouth, Poole, and Gravesend; varnish and pitch manufactories, from which large exportations of tar, turpentine, and varnish, had taken place to Newfoundland; an ivory black manufactory, established three years previously by Mr. Briggs, who employed many persons, principally women, in collecting bones; two tobacco and tobacco pipe manufactories;† distilleries, employing twenty men; a straw plait manufactory, established when the French prisoners were at Dartmoor, straw being supplied them, which they returned plaited; five tanyards—an increase of four in thirty years; thirteen ship-building yards; seven rope-walks; and two canvas manufactories, employing about 200 persons, the first established by a Mr. Jardine, from Scotland, in Westwell Street.

\* A paper mill was erected there by Thomas Netherton as far back as 1710.

† The port received very great importations of tobacco from Virginia in the vessels of Mr. Rogers and Mr. Morshead, to the former of whom a singular but lucky accident occurred. Only two days previously to the legal commencement of the duty imposed on tobacco, three of his vessels arrived, by which he saved, or rather gained, £5,000 or £6,000.

Some of those branches of manufacture have since disappeared; but others of a more important character have taken their places. The white serge factory has long ceased its operations; but there is still a sail-cloth factory in Mill Lane, the last relic of the textile manufactures of Plymouth. A flock and shoddy mill is carried on at Brent by a gentleman of Plymouth, Mr. Peter Adams, who some five-and-twenty years since introduced the manufacture of Brussels carpets into the town. It was however just about the time that the power looms were superseding the older machinery; and operations were suspended after a couple of years.

A great falling off has taken place in shipbuilding, chiefly in consequence of the introduction of the use of iron. A yard at Turnchapel from which sixty years ago two seventy-fours were launched has long been idle. The largest merchant vessel ever built in the port was launched from the yard of the late Mr. Banks at Queen Anne's Battery in August, 1870. She was of 1127 tons burthen.

The great development in the manufacturing industry of Plymouth within the present century has been in those branches of manufacture which are more closely connected with chemistry. Hence the large establishments which have converted the district to the east of Sutton Pool into a characteristically manufacturing suburb, the many tall chimney stacks of which sufficiently indicate the purposes to which it is devoted. This locality has enjoyed some sort of connection with manufactures almost from the date of their introduction into the town.

There was a time when Millbay seemed likely to distance it in the race ; but the progress of building has confined the manufacturing operations of western Plymouth within comparatively narrow limits. The Millbay paper mills and glass house\* have alike disappeared ; but it still retains the extensive soap works established by Mr. Thomas Gill in 1818, now the property of the Millbay Soap, Alkali, and Soda Company, and formed into a company in 1856 ; alongside of which a younger concern of the same kind, the Victoria Soap Company, was established in 1858. The Victoria company is also the successor to the West of England Soap Company, which formerly conducted business in the Sutton Road. The cement manufacture has been carried on in Plymouth for upwards of fifty years, a manufactory of Roman cement at Millbay being the first established, by the late Mr. Rattenbury. There are now several concerns of the kind which transact a large amount of business.

Nearly forty years ago the business of sugar refining was re-introduced into the town by Mr. James Bryant. This gentleman having established the first starch manufactory in the town in Mill Lane, not long subsequently founded in the same locality the refinery, the site of which up to that time was occupied by vegetable gardens and a tan yard. By Messrs. Bryant and Burnell it was carried on until in 1856 the concern passed into the hands of the British and

\* The workmen of Messrs. Stanford's glass-house walked in the procession formed to celebrate the coronation of the Queen with glass hats and all manner of glass paraphernalia. Their premises were eventually sold to the Great Western Dock Company.

Irish Sugar Refinery Company, by whom it is still conducted.

Plymouth once for a short time possessed a lucifer match manufactory, the property of Messrs. W. Bryant and E. James, which was burnt in 1829. Mr. W. Bryant was afterwards the founder of the Soap Works, subsequently known as the West of England; Mr. E. James, of the Starch Works, at Coxside, now managed by his sons, which have grown to very large dimensions; and at which black lead, blue, and other articles are manufactured. Mr. W. Bryant also established candle works, a branch of manufacture now carried on at Coxside by the Patent Candle Company.

The manufacture of artificial manure was commenced twenty-two years since by Mr. C. Norrington. This branch of business has grown to very large proportions, as the extensive establishments of Mr. Norrington, and of Messrs. Burnard, Lack, and Alger, testify. Connected with the manufacture of manure is that of sulphuric acid.

The lead works of Messrs. James and Rosewall were established in 1850, on premises which had been unsuccessfully occupied as a naphtha manufactory for a few years. The firm was originally Sparrow, Hodge, and Co. The business was transferred to new premises in the Octagon in 1868.

The Plymouth Paper Staining Company (Limited) has been one of the most successful concerns ever started in the borough.

About twenty-five years since, Mr. George Frean founded the biscuit factory, now carried on by Messrs.

Serpell and Co., by whom the fancy business has been developed.

The Plymouth and Dartmoor Gunpowder Company has its works upon Dartmoor, but its offices at Plymouth, and therefore claims to be included here, as the peculiar nature of the manufacture alone prevented its establishment within the borough borders.\*

Gas making is hardly looked upon as a manufacture. An oil gas company was incorporated under an Act passed in 1823. In 1825 the United General Gas Company was established at Millbay; and in 1832 the first named was merged into it. The Plymouth and Stonehouse Gas Light and Coke Company, by which the towns are at present lit, was incorporated in 1845. The prices in the first instance were charged at Plymouth, as elsewhere, per burner. Now the town enjoys the advantage of having the cheapest gas in the kingdom, 2s. 9d. per thousand feet, whilst the shareholders receive the highest dividend allowed by law.

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\* One local limited liability concern ceased operations last year, by the Plymouth Foundry and Engine Works Company, with which was incorporated an extensive ironfounding business previously carried on by the Messrs. Mare, at the Plymouth Foundry, in Frankfort Square.

## CHAPTER XIII.

*THE TOWN: ITS GROWTH AND BUILDINGS.*

"Describe the Borough—though our idle tribe  
May love description, can we so describe  
That you shall fairly streets and buildings trace,  
And all that gives distinction to a place?  
This cannot be; yet moved by your request  
A part I paint; let fancy paint the rest.  
Cities and towns, the various haunts of men,  
Require the pencil, they defy the pen."—*Crabbe*.



T is not probable that when William the Conqueror ascended the throne of England, the population of Sutton exceeded, if indeed it reached, 100 all told. A hundred years later even it was a little fishing village. A period of assured progress succeeded. The subsidy roll of 1377 sets forth that there were 4,837 persons of fourteen years and upwards resident in the town assessed to the poll tax. This would indicate a total population of 7,000, which at that date only London, York, and Bristol exceeded. During the next three centuries the average number of inhabitants, allowing for fluctuations, could not have gone beyond this figure. The damage occasioned by the French in their frequent incursions was one of the principal operating causes in preventing increase, and the periodical attacks of pestilence the other. For part of the time at least the

population must have been very much under this mark, since a Chantry Roll of 1547 states the number of "houselyng people" (*i.e.* people old enough to receive the Sacrament) at 2,000 only.

There are no reliable data upon which to base an estimate of the population at the commencement of the last century. In 1740 it was 8,400. Probably there had been little change for the preceding fifty years. The following returns, extracted from the register books of the parishes of St. Andrew, Charles, and Stoke Damerel, indicate that it was subsequently to this period that the activity consequent upon the successive wars first tended to the material increase of the population.

	Baptisms.	Burials.	Marriages.
1700	299	331	
1710	409	581	
1720	295	310	
1730	239	285	
1740	299	728	
1750	552	397	
1760	878	1313	525
1770	672	682	234
1780	873	1553	518
1790	891	872	352
1800	1539	1770	845

The present century lands us on firm ground, by supplying authoritative data in the census returns, which show the following results.

	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871
Persons .....	16,040	20,803	21,591	31,080	36,527	52,221	62,599	66,525*
Houses .....	1,744	2,185	2,646	3,472	4,298	5,178	6,408	7,867

\* The figures for 1871 are approximate only, the official return not having been made. The floating population, which may be estimated at 2,500 has to be added. The total will probably approach 69,000.



The population therefore has more than quadrupled since the commencement of the century, notwithstanding that the cessation of factitious activity consequent upon the advent of peace, in 1815, caused it for more than a decade to fall off rather than advance. Within the half-century since 1821, the number of inhabitants has more than tripled.

The material growth of the town has naturally kept pace with the increase of the population. The municipal borough proper contains upwards of 1,300 acres, of which 900 acres are town land. There are further the suburb of Mannamead, which was connected with the parliamentary borough under the Reform Act of 1868; and the district of Millbay, which now forms part of the parish of St. Andrew.

The Sutton of the eleventh century was nothing more than a scattered group of houses on the margin of Sutton Pool, with two or three little knots of dwellings on the slopes above. The whole put together would not have made a modern hamlet, much less a village; but difference of ownership kept them distinct; and the little communities grew up independently the one of the other.\* It was but a natural result that as trade developed in the infant town, the localities best suited for the pursuit of commercial avocations should grow the quickest. Hence Sutton Prior and Sutton Ralph, which occupied the one the western and the other the northern shore of Sutton Pool, rapidly distanced Sutton Valletort on the hill

\* In the name Stonehouse we have an indication that that manor in Saxon times possessed a building of exceptionally substantial character.

above; and indeed by their superior attractions tended to impoverish their elder sister.

Sometime in the next century the first church was built; and the town assumed a definite plan. Old Town appears to be the most ancient of the existing street names; then comes St. Andrew Street, mentioned in a deed of 1386; Briton Side dated from the commencement of the fifteenth century; and in the Act of Incorporation we find the names of "Byllebury Strete, Note Strete, and Stillman Strete."

Leland calls the town very large; and Risdon (died 1640), writing of it just a century later says, "The commodious situation and healthful habitation was vulgarly known and allured many to resort thither, whereby it so increased with beautiful buildings, that of the two parts formerly spoken [Sutton Prior and Sutton Valletort], conjoined is made one populous Plymouth; and now so great grown that it may be held comparable to some cities." Undoubtedly the town had been much improved and beautified during the Elizabethan era. There is ample evidence of this in the fine old houses of that period yet extant. But Risdon's standard was not very high.

There is a quaint poetical description of Plymouth about this date, by the Rev. William Stroud of Newnham, from a country bumpkin's point of view, which is too good to be passed by. It is in a collection of poems among the Harleian MSS.

"Thou n'ere woot riddle, neighbor John,  
Where ich of late have bin-a-;  
Why ich ha bin to Plimoth, man,  
The like was yet n'ere zeene-a-.

Zich streets, zich men, zich hugeous zeas,  
 Zich things and guns there rumbling,  
 Thyzelf, like me, wood'st blesse to zee  
 Zich bomination grumbling.

"The streets be pight of shindle-stone,  
 Doe glissen like the sky-a,  
 The zhops ston ope and all y<sup>e</sup> yeere long  
 I'se think a faire there bee-a-.  
 And many a gallant here goeth  
 I' goold, that zaw the King-a ;  
 The King zome zweare himself was there,  
 A man or zome zich thing-a-.

"Thou voole, that never water zaw'st,  
 But think-a in the moor-a-,  
 To zee the zea, wood'st be a'gast,  
 It doth zoo rage and roar-a :  
 It tast's zoo zalt thy tonge wood thinke  
 The vire were in y<sup>e</sup> water ;  
 And, tis zoo wide, noe lond is spide,  
 Look nere zoo long there-ater-.

"The water from the element  
 Noe man can zee chi-vore ;  
 'Twas zoo low, yet all consent  
 'Twas higher than the moor.  
 'Tis strange how looking down a cliffe,  
 Men do looke upward rather,  
 If there mine eyne had not it zeene,  
 'Chood scarce believe my vather.

"Amidst the water wooden birds,  
 And flying houses zwim-a ;  
 All full of things as ich ha' heard,  
 And goods up to y<sup>e</sup> brim-a ;  
 They goe unto another world,  
 Desiring to conquer-a-,  
 Vor wch those guns, voule develish ones,  
 Do dunder and spett vire-a-."

"Good neighbor John, how var is this ?  
This place vor I will zee-a- ;  
'Ch'll moape no longer heere, that's flat,  
To watch a zheepe or zheene-a- ;  
Though it zoo var as London bee,  
Wch ten miles ich imagin,  
'Ch'll thither hye, for this place I  
Do take in great induggin."

An Italian who visited Plymouth in the train of Cosmo de Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in 1669, gives us an interesting pen and ink sketch of the town as it appeared to his unaccustomed eyes. He says, "The city cannot be seen from the sea, and is almost shut up by a gorge of the mountains, on the lower skirt of which it is situated. Its extent is not very considerable [yet elsewhere the writer remarks that it may be reckoned one of the best cities in England]. The buildings are antique, according to the English fashion, lofty and narrow, with pointed roofs,\* and the fronts may be seen through, owing to the magnitude of the windows of glass in each of the different storeys. They are occupied from top to bottom. . . . The life of the city is navigation. Hence it is that in Plymouth only women and children are to be seen, the greater part of the men living at sea ; and hence also the town is exceedingly well supplied, all the necessaries of life being found there" [fortunate Plymouthians], and "many other articles that administer to luxury and pleasure ; and silversmiths, watchmakers, jewellers, and other artists of this description are not wanting."

\* Not finding sufficient room in the narrow streets, the population in their eagerness to see the duke "filled the roofs."

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Two hundred years ago the town covered much the same extent of ground as it did a century later. The increase which took place in the interim chiefly consisted in packing more houses into such open spaces as existed. A plan of the neighbourhood of the Barbican made in 1677, and now in the British Museum, shows between the houses facing the New Quay and those immediately west of them on the Hoe, an area unoccupied by buildings at least 200 feet wide. A view of the town from Cattedown, taken in 1715, proves that in the interval the buildings had become much more closely packed together. The towers of St. Andrew and Charles Churches appear on the very verge of the town, and in the distance is seen Stoke Church embosomed in trees. About this date (1714) there were 1,139 houses in the town. The first brick house with sash windows had been built in Briton Side seven years previously.

Let us attempt to describe the appearance of Plymouth one hundred years ago. There were then about 1,500 houses (the number in 1780 was 1,581). The Pig Market, now Bedford Street, reached but to Frankfort Gate (the Globe Hotel). Not only Westwell Street, but part of Catherine Street was open towards the west, whilst southward a succession of fields spread between them and the Hoe. Old Town Street, or as it was then called, Old Town, stretched away in irregular fashion as far as Saltash Street, with fields environing it on either side. The town proper indeed did not extend further north than Week Street; and Charles Church was still half in the country. Eastward the houses did not reach

beyond the Friary; but a straggling line of buildings had been pushed out like an advanced guard up Whitecross Street. Almost from Frankfort Gate to Stonehouse, which then consisted merely of Fore, Newport, and Chapel Streets, with a lane where Edgcumbe Street now is, lay the great salt marsh, where but a century previously had appeared the waters of Surpool, and where now the great business artery of the Three Towns passes. By slow degrees the pool had silted up; and the growth of aquatic plants had so far completed the process of natural reclamation, that the bulk of the ground was just such a rough pasture as can be seen by the side of the Lynher, intersected by numerous streams, and at high tides still liable to be overflowed. There were two roads from Plymouth to Stonehouse. One, a lane, wound round by the old mill at Millbay, following the line of the ancient mill dyke; the other passed between the northern edge of the marsh and the fields which covered the southern slope of the ridge now crowned by the North Road. Most of the houses in Old Town Street were at this time thatched. Even yet there remains a thatched cottage in the North Road, the last inhabited thatched dwelling within the immediate precincts of the borough, and there are thatched stores in the very heart of the town—in Frankfort Street.

One of the earliest attempts to realise the future destiny of Plymouth was the commencement in 1776 of George Street, as a pleasant series of suburban residences. Yet so little was that future foreseen by the general public, that it was remarked of one pro-

fessional gentleman who built a house at its farther end that he could never expect his clients to come *so far* to see him. The tide, however, had set in. Frankfort Street soon followed suit, and before the end of the century had been reached building was going on in all directions. According to the "Picture of Plymouth," between 1793 and 1812 there had been erected in the town 500 houses, including the following streets and places:—Tavistock Street, Portland Place, Orchard Place, Park Street (1809), Duke Street, Cornwall Street, New Town (York Street), Richmond Street, Barrack Street (now Russell Street, taking its first name from the barracks, in Frankfort Square), Willow Street, Arch Street, New Market Alley, Hampton Buildings, Exeter Street, Jubilee Street, Brunswick Terrace, Lady Well Buildings, and Lambhay Street. To this list, Rowe in his "Panorama," adds Gascoigne Terrace and Portland Square; and as of more recent construction Cobourg Street, James Street, Union Street, Union Terrace, Queen Street, King Street, Princess Square, the Crescent, St. Andrew Terrace, Charles Place, Fareham Place, and Woodside.

The building trade when Burt wrote (1814) had shown a remarkable amount of activity, but was then stagnating. There were six or seven master builders, with about 200 masons and plasterers, and 150 carpenters. In the ten preceding years 500 houses had been built; 200 in the last three years of that term. Forty houses were then untenanted. An excellent project for the provision of suitable dwellings for the poor had been brought forward not long previously

by Messrs. F. Fox, T. Cleather, H. Woolcombe, and G. Soltau; but had fallen to the ground after £1,450 had been subscribed. The scheme was to erect dwellings in Shute Park, and other spots contiguous to Plymouth, at a cost for each house of £120; the rent including taxes to be £9 15s., "or 5s. less than what constitutes a parishioner." From that day to this, with the single exception of the erection of Shaftesbury Cottages in 1861, nothing in this direction has been done, much as it has been needed. The establishment in 1850 of the Baths and Washhouses, though resulting in a pecuniary loss, has however contributed somewhat to improve the comfort of humble homes.

Forty years ago Union Road was not half built, and there were only a few blocks of dwellings in Stonehouse Lane, and a few scattered houses near Eldad Chapel, between it and Stonehouse Lake; whilst the Crescent and the now departed Millbay Grove,\* were the only connected buildings between the Road and the Hoe. The district whereon Lockyer and its associated streets, with Princess Square and its communications down to Notte Street, now stand was almost entirely unoccupied. Portland Square was but partially built, and was a detached suburban locality. Gibbon's Fields and the adjoining ground, now covered by Charlestown, were all in the hands of the agriculturist, and Woodside and Charles Place were pleasant rural retreats. The whole of strictly urban Plymouth was bounded in those days by a line drawn from the top of Claremont Street to the Royal Hotel, and continued round that building along the

\* Its site is occupied by the Duke of Cornwall Hotel.



back of George and Bedford Streets, through Catherine Street to the Hoe, in front of the Citadel round Lambhay Hill to the Barbican, by the shore of Sutton Pool to its north-east corner, thence direct to the head of Tavistock Place, and thence again by the Lower Mill, up Cobourg Street, and down the North Road to the starting point. A great deal of the ground included within even these narrow limits was however unoccupied.

Twenty years later considerable changes had taken place. But Five and Four Field Lanes had not yet given place to the North Road. The ground between St. Peter Church and the Railway was open; Barley House was still a private residence; Pontey's Gardens adjoining were in the very height of their beauty; North Hill was unbuilt; Mutley and Ford Park were open country; the suburb of Mannamead had hardly an existence; Union Road was still unfinished, the ground right and left only partially occupied; and in the vicinity of the Hoe there was scarcely a house from Lockyer Street to the Millbay Barracks. Now all these localities are either wholly or in great part covered with houses.

The records of the corporate finances exhibit the recent progress of the borough in a very clear manner. When the Municipal Reform Act became law the corporate debt was £41,888, and the rental of the corporate estates, including the water, £5,825. At the time of Mr. Rawlinson's enquiry in 1852 the debt was £52,518, and the rental £8,741. At the date of the last report, for the year 1870, the total debt was £55,796, and the rental £14,924. The Commissioners,

when they were extinguished, left a debt behind of £15,000. This has since been increased by the great outlay on sewerage and street improvement under the Local Board to £88,471, besides which £35,045 has been paid off. Taking the last fifty years we find that the rateable value of the borough has advanced from £28,983 in 1821, to £165,953 in 1871. In 1831 it was £36,923; in 1841, £76,000; in 1851, £101,818; and in 1861, £127,184.

Of the truth of Risdon's remark, that not long before his time the town had been increased with beautiful buildings, there is ample evidence in the fine old Elizabethan houses that yet remain. Nevertheless, to a modern eye the town in the reign of the first James would have seemed but a poor place. A hundred years later we learn that its buildings were not extraordinary, and its streets narrow. If we could believe the glowing account given in the "British Traveller," we should come to the conclusion that another fifty years had made a marvellous change, and that a century since "the streets were spacious, and the houses in general regular and handsome." Not so, however, even at the commencement of the present century.

Plymouth, the suburbs of which can now boast so many lines of handsome terraces, and such a profusion of elegant villas, then presented to the cursory observer few but business characteristics; none residential. Yet there were "many good houses, but so concealed in bye streets or lanes, or situated in the gardens of the proprietors, as not to be easily discoverable." Most of these old mansions and their surroundings have

received very little less care. The capacity of the main thoroughfare of manufacturing Plymouth, Sutton Road, has likewise been increased ; and there have been a host of minor improvements, the value of which everybody recognises, but which do not call for special mention. At the same time, Plymouth has been transformed by the construction of a complete system of sewerage, at a cost of upwards of £35,000, from one of the unhealthiest towns in England into one of the healthiest. Moreover, private improvement has kept pace with public, and the main streets of the town, though still rejoicing in their charming irregularity of design, are filled with buildings which would do credit to the metropolis.

The names of many of the streets have been changed from time to time. Whitecross, or North Street, was once known as Old Penny Lane ; Hill Street as French Lane ; Week Street as Duck's Lane ; Kinterbury Street as Colmer's Lane ; Vintry Street as Foyne's Lane ; Hoe Street as Little Hoe Lane ; Hoe Gate Street as Broad Hoe Lane ; part of Ham Street as Scammel's Row ; Basket Street as Love Street ; Vauxhall Street as Foxhole Street ; Westwell Street as Love Lane ; Tothill Lane as Whitefriars' Lane ; Batter Street as Pomeroy Conduit Street ; High Street as Market Street ; Higher Lane as Loder's Lane, &c. A few old names have been restored : thus Buckwell and Bilbury Streets were long called Higher and Lower Broad Street, and Stillman Street Seven Stars Lane. On the other hand Briton Side has just been turned into Exeter Street. Amongst other names which have disap-

peared are Catch French Lane, Cock and Bottle Lane, Castle Dyke Lane, and Holy Cross Lane.

In taking a survey of the town as it is, the older buildings are naturally the first to attract attention. Plymouth does not possess many features of archæological interest. The most ancient is that Norman arch alluded to in the ninth chapter, as having been discovered in pulling down the almshouses near St. Andrew Church. Ten years ago it was pointed out by a careful and competent observer that the town was not rich in architectural antiquities.\* Since that date fully half of those which remained have disappeared, and live but in remembrance. There was then standing in St. Andrew Street, on the site now occupied by the Abbey Wine Vaults, an ancient hostelry known as the Turk's Head, and reputed to be the oldest house in Plymouth. Not improbably it dated from the fourteenth century, and within its walls must the worthies of old Plymouth have quaffed many a flagon of sack.

Next in antiquity among the secular buildings of the town is the building known as Palace Court, in Catte Street, which yet stands, and may long stand, so substantial are its massive limestone walls, so sound still its oaken timbers, upon the site where it was reared by the rich merchant, Painter, towards the end of the fifteenth century. The evidence is not quite clear, but there seems little reason to doubt that this is the "goodly house towards the haven" which, ac-

\* By Mr. J. Hine, F.R.I.B.A., in a lecture at the Athenæum, upon the "Old Buildings of Plymouth." To this lecture, subsequently published, the pages which immediately follow are much indebted.

cording to Leland, Painter erected : and wherein he entertained the Princess Catherine of Arragon at her arrival in England ; and the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood who flocked to Plymouth to do honour to their future Queen. Of the sixteenth century there are abundant relics, in the shape of forty or fifty Elizabethan dwellings ; projecting, corbelled, and gabled ; scattered through almost the whole of the old streets, and chief among which is the noble house in Notte Street, which must have been erected for some magnifico of those days, perhaps for one of the Hawkinses.

The seventeenth century was by no means an inactive period in the structural history of Plymouth ; and twelvemonths since a very picturesque and extensive group of buildings, dating thence, stood by St. Andrew Church—the Hospital of Orphans' Aid, and the Hospital of Poor's Portion, now removed to make way for the new Guildhall. The Hospital of Orphans' Aid was erected in 1615, the Grammar School buildings behind in 1658 ; and the Hospital of the Poor's Portion on the south in 1630. Over the doorway of the latter building was the pious motto, "By God's help through Christ." About the same time alms-houses were erected hard by ; and later in the century others in Green Street. A Guildhall and an Exchange were also among the products of the age. All have been swept away, with the walls and gates that defied King Charles, and there is left to us of seventeenth century Plymouth but one building of importance—Charles Church—of which more anon.

And now let us retrace our steps for a while to



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OLD HOUSE IN NOTTE STREET.

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consider the ecclesiastical antiquities of the town. Of the Carmelite Friary there remained forty years since some portions of the tower, and of other buildings, probably the kitchen and refectory.\* At present every fragment of its noble church has disappeared, and "nothing exists except an arch with decorated mouldings of good character, and two low walls about three feet in thickness, and between seventy and eighty feet long." In Woolster Street is a fine ogee arch, which probably belonged to the Franciscan Friary established in that locality. There is another arch in Southside Street of very early character; and if the supposition be correct that there was a Monastery of Dominicans in or near Southside Street, probably this arch belonged to it. A portion of the distillery is old, and Mr. Hine thinks there can be little doubt belonged to the house of some monastic order. Traces of an ancient burial ground have been found in New Street. "The Abbey," on the south of St. Andrew Church, "is the most perfect relic of monastic Plymouth that remains." It is a bold example of Late Perpendicular work, but unhappily there is no clue to its history.

St. Andrew, or Old Church, has been described as one of the finest parish churches in England. This is hardly the case. It ranks among the largest, but wants height to render it effective. Nevertheless, it is a noble fabric, and one of which Plymouthians may well be proud; and the massive proportions and simple dignified outline of its tower—unexcelled for boldness

\* These were inhabited, and human remains were occasionally found in the ground adjoining.



and effect in the county—go far to redeem the faults of the remainder of the building. No part of the present church is older than 1430, and there are now no means of forming an opinion as to what its predecessor was like. Probably it was Late Norman. There being evidence of the existence close by of other ecclesiastical buildings of that period, it seems a fair presumption that the Church would not be of later origin.

St. Andrew consists of a chancel and chancel aisles (of unusual size), nave and aisles, transepts and tower, and will accommodate 2,000 persons. During the middle ages, when its area was clear of seats, its great defect must have been much less apparent than it is now. Towards the end of the sixteenth century (1595-7) the process of "choking" was commenced by the erection of a gallery, the church-yard being at the same time impaled. Other galleries were subsequently constructed—one in 1709, when a thunder-storm threw down one of the pinnacles of the tower—and at length the Church assumed a thoroughly "churchwardenised" type.\* In 1825-6 restorations and repairs were made at the cost of nearly £5,000, under the direction of Mr. Foulston. All the old galleries were pulled down, the present western and transeptal galleries erected in their stead, and the church reseated as it remains. In the course of the alterations a skilfully carved oak chancel screen

\* The phrase must be used with a qualification in reference to St. Andrew, for no church of late years has been more indebted to its wardens—particularly Mr. Alfred Hingston and the late Mr. Frederick Bone.

was discovered. Since then, beautifying apart, the interior of the fabric has remained much as he left it. Within the past few months, however, the interior of the tower has been restored, and an exceedingly handsome pulpit erected from the designs of Mr. Hine. Mr. Foulston's work was substantial; but he had no feeling for Gothic architecture, and the restoration of the Church according to a purer taste has been proposed.\*

The Church contains a large number of monuments, several of which were rescued from oblivion, and the whole restored, during the churchwardenship of Messrs. Hingston and Bone. The oldest is dated 1583, and is to the memory of a member of the Sparke family. The inscription reads:—

“ I was once as thou art now,  
A man, could speke and goe;  
But now I ly in silence heere—  
Serve God, thou must be loe.  
When death did me asayle,  
To God then did I crye;  
Of Jacob's well to ne wiste my soule  
That it might never die.”

The next memorial in point of antiquity is dated 1589, to Humphry Fownes, and members of his family. Erected some thirty years afterwards (1624), we find another stone recording how John Fownes and his wife had been killed by the fall of a chimney. The fact that there should be no memorials in the

\* The present vicar, the Rev. C. T. Wilkinson, and churchwardens, Mr. F. Hicks and Mr. J. W. Matthews, have the work thoroughly at heart.

Church older than the latter end of the sixteenth century is a sufficient indication of the great alterations which have from time to time been made in the fabric.

The most striking monument is that to Sir John Skelton, lieutenant-governor of Plymouth, in 1672. There is a bust of Dr. Zachary Mudge, by Chantrey;\* and a tablet in memory of Charles Matthews, who died whilst at Plymouth, and was buried in the church. The most distinguished personage whose remains were deposited in St. Andrew Church was Blake, whose bowels were buried at the door of the mayor's pew. There they remained in peace, when Charles II. wreaked his poor revenge upon the Admiral's body by causing it to be removed from its resting-place in Westminster Abbey, and thrown into the pit under Tyburn gallows with those of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw.† In 1737 an organ was built by James Parsons. At the opening "the singing men of St. Peter's, Exeter"—the cathedral—attended. It was rebuilt as at present in 1859, by Messrs. Gray and Davison.

In 1594 five bells were cast for the church; and

\* In the progress of some alterations in the church several years since, the vault in which Dr. Mudge was buried was opened; and for a moment Mr. Bone caught a glimpse of the old vicar. The next he looked upon a heap of dust.

† Some descendants of Bradshaw lived in Plymouth. One of them "an old lady of the name of Wilcox, used to walk about in Gibbon's Fields, so prim and starched, holding up her fan spread out like a peacock's tail, with such an air on account of her supposed relationship." Others of the family bled to death from the nose, or died from the bursting of blood vessels, which was considered a judgment.—*Hazlitt's Conversations of Northcote.*

plenty of employment was found for them and their successors in reflecting the popular feeling. In 1644, the ringers were paid 6s. 8d. for Hopton's overthrow; in 1647 they were paid a similar sum for a merry peal in remembrance of "Prince Maurice's Sabbath day fight"—his unsuccessful attack on the town. The bells rang when Charles II. came to the throne; and in 1687 the ringers received 6s. for ringing at the arrival of Governor Slanning. Next year they rang for the arrival of Dutch William; and then we find "paid ringers for Mr. Mayor's order for a day of thanksgiving for the Queen's being with child, 10s." Ringing for Kirk's relief of Londonderry, cost £1 8s.

In 1709 Colonel Jory, the founder of the almshouses, and in so many ways a benefactor to the town, presented St. Andrew with a peal of six new bells, estimated to be worth £500. In 1749 they were cast into a peal of eight, with additional metal. The tenor bell weighed 4,032 lbs., and bore the motto, "*Ego sum vox clamantis parate.*" Some of the bells have been re-cast since then; but there is still the same number.

Nowhere in Plymouth has there been so much change and improvement as in the vicinity of St. Andrew Church. Almost from the time that Thomas Yogge built its stately tower until the present day, the sacred edifice has been cramped and surrounded in nearly all directions by a number of buildings, many of them of a very mean character, which have prevented its beauties from being properly appreciated. One by one, at long intervals, several of these obstructions were cleared away, and now, in connec-

tion with the works of the new Guildhall, the last have been removed. A tablet in the churchyard wall facing Old Town Street, recorded some of these improvements in the following words :—

“Immediately in front of this wall lately stood a set of stalls called the Flesh Shambles, which narrowed the space from the opposite houses to about nine feet. On the right hand were two houses, which considerably confined the entrance to the Church; immediately in front was a building called the Fish Market, taken down on his Majesty coming to this borough in the year 1789; on the left hand by Buckingham Steps were some miserable, loathsome almshouses; and at the entrance of Old Town Street stood a conduit and the New Shambles, all of which, for the greater comfort and convenience of the inhabitants and persons resorting to the town have, with great liberality and public spirit on the part of the mayor and commonalty, been removed, and the present New Market erected. To commemorate these improvements this tablet was set up 4th of June, 1813.”

By these initial improvements the churchyard was thrown open to the street upon the eastern side, but the continual interments which had taken place since the middle of the thirteenth century having raised the natural level of the ground several feet, the church itself was still in great part hidden from view, and a generation elapsed before the work of improvement was again taken up. Moreover miserable low houses continued the south side of Bedford Street in front of the churchyard wall, so narrowing that thoroughfare as to render it almost impassable for

two vehicles. Catherine Street, too, nothing better than a lane, was approached from Bedford Street by a flight of seven or eight steps, which cut off all view of the lower part of the tower. A very great improvement was effected when the old houses referred to were removed, and the lane approach levelled. But the dead wall of the churchyard remained in its blank integrity, even after the southern half of the burial ground had been improved by the Church authorities. The works of the new Guildhall introduced the most important series of improvements that has ever taken place in connection with the streets of Plymouth. The whole of the buildings on the west of the Church, the Almshouses, Orphans' Aid Hospital, and old Workhouse, are demolished,\* and for the first time for certainly 300 years, the Church is thrown open to distinct view in that direction. Catherine Street, from a mere lane, is converted into a wide thoroughfare. Substantial slices of the northern churchyard have been taken away, and a new wall surmounted by an ornamental railing placed round the remaining portion, which is sloped and turfed much after the same method as that adopted in dealing with the southern section.

Charles Church is a noteworthy structure. "For its time Charles Church is a remarkably good building. The true principles of Gothic architecture had long since been forgotten; they had gone out with the great church-building ages; only the vaguest

\* The engraving at page 150, shows Church Alley as it was before the alterations, with the Almshouses and Grammar School in the distance.

notion of there being something beautiful and worthy of reproduction in the pointed style lingered in the minds of a few degenerate disciples of William of Wykeham. One of these evidently was the architect of this church. I think he must have had a vision of the glorious days of old, from a confused recollection of which he prepared his design. Some parts of the building are really beautiful. The *outline* of the tower and spire is almost perfect. The east window of the chancel is a fine specimen of geometric tracery. Elsewhere, however, there is a contradiction of styles and a jumble of Perpendicular, Elizabethan, and Classic details, and the last spark of correct feeling would appear to have vanished when the designer stuck the four pine apples on the top of the tower."\*

The Church consists of nave, chancel, continuous therewith, north and south aisles, and western tower. It will hold about 1,700.

There were formerly in this Church some old flags which were said to have belonged to the train bands of the town at the time of the siege; but they have long since disappeared. Buried near the altar lie Captains Kerby and Cooper Wade, who were shot for cowardice in Benbow's action with Du Casse. Having been found guilty abroad, warrants for their execution were sent to all the principal ports; and they were shot on the day of their arrival in the Sound, April 16th, 1703.

Modern Plymouth now claims attention. The first attempt to impart an architectural character to the

\* Hine's "Old Buildings." Elsewhere Mr. Hine suggests that the architect was also the designer of Plympton Grammar School.

extensions of the town was made by Mr. Foulston. He was a devotee of classic art, and set the fashion of his day. Hence nearly all the buildings reared in Plymouth during the past generation that have any claim to design present elevations of a classic or pseudo-classic type. Of the numerous works of Mr. Foulston, the Hotel and Theatre are the most important, the Athenæum the most successful, and St. Andrew Chapel the least attractive. Notwithstanding his classical predilections, the chapel of St. Paul at Stonehouse entitles him to the credit of being one of the local pioneers of Gothic revival, but shows how little the true principles of Gothic architecture were then understood. The first Gothic building erected during the present century in Plymouth, St. Peter Church, Eldad (designed by Mr. Ball), in its degree illustrates the same fact. Mr. Wightwick, although most of his works, like those of his predecessor Mr. Foulston, were classical, was an ardent student of Gothic architecture, and under his auspices the revival progressed. The result has been that, with a few exceptions only, the churches and chapels erected in Plymouth within the past five-and-twenty years have been of Gothic character, and that the most extensive pile of modern Gothic buildings in the West of England is now being reared for a new Guildhall and public offices. Nor is this all. Various modifications of Gothic have been adopted in the designing of business premises and buildings of a most miscellaneous character; and, stucco apart, Plymouth is being as steadily gothicised now as it was classicised a generation or so ago.



Mr. Foulston's great work, the Royal Hotel and Theatre, is said to have cost in all £60,000. Like the Market, it was erected on the tontine principle. The foundation-stone was laid on the 10th September, 1811, by the mayor, Mr. Edmund Lockyer, and the building was finished in two years. The stone bears the following inscription :—"Theatri et Hospitii impensis Majoris et Communitatis Burgi Plymouth. Edmundus Lockyer, M.D., Major, fundamenta locavit 1811. Johanne Foulston, architecta." The style



adopted is the Ionic; but the imposing effect of the long lines of frontage, and of the fine porticoes, is sadly marred by the unclassical aspect of the elegant groups of chimneys which break up the continuity of the roof. Prior to the erection of the Hotel, the principal inn of the town was the Pope's Head, in Looe Street, the landlord of which became the first lessee of the "Royal." The assemblies were held at the London Inn, in Vauxhall Street. In January, 1863, a serious fire occurred in the centre of the north front of the Hotel and Theatre, which

caused damage to the extent of several thousand pounds, destroying the assembly-rooms.

Sixty years ago what we now regard as the natural order of things was quite reversed in matters theatrical. The Theatre was open during the summer; and assemblies on alternate Wednesdays in winter supplied the whole of the public amusements enjoyed by genteel folks during the dull season.\* The first theatre of which we have any record was in Broad Hoe Lane (Hoe Gate Street). The immediate predecessor of the present one was at Frankfort Gate, on the premises now occupied by Mr. Eyre, opposite the Globe, and 110 years ago went by the name of the New Theatre, an appellation discontinued in 1765. In a playbill of 1759 the proprietor, Joseph Pittard, makes the—to modern notions—odd announcement by way of “draw,” that he had “been over to *Launceston* to engage some of the best performers belonging to the company there!”

The Athenæum is in the Grecian Doric order, and, as has been said, is the most satisfactory of the buildings erected by Mr. Foulston in Plymouth.†

To the rapid extension of church and chapel accommodation during the past thirty years is due the chief modern architectural attractions of the town. Up to that date the only places of worship in Plymouth possessing any claims to attention on the score of their design were the churches of St. Andrew and Charles.

\* There were then six sedan chairs in the town.

† The most effective of Mr. Foulston's structures is the Town Hall at Devonport, the portico of which is excellently designed.

The majority of the new fabrics are Gothic. The only exceptions calling for remark are Trinity Church, a Doric edifice; George Street Baptist Chapel, which has a Corinthian portico; Mutley Plain Baptist Chapel, which has an elaborate Palladian façade, the most ornate semi-classical composition in the neighbourhood, designed by Mr. Ambrose; the Presbyterian Church, Eldad, a well-proportioned and attractive Italian structure; and King Street Wesleyan Chapel, also Italian, and the chief merit of which, apart from its size, is its neatness.

Three of the new churches are in the Decorated Gothic style. St. John the Evangelist has a chancel, south chancel aisle, nave and lean-to aisles, and a tower, with spire 120 feet high. St. James is only partially completed. Emmanuel, Mannamead, is by far the most imposing of the whole. When completed it will consist of chancel and chancel aisles, nave and aisles, transepts, north and south transeptal porches, and a central tower. The nave is carried westward beyond the body of the building. At present the tower, chancel, and chancel aisles are wanting. The clerestory is high, and the tracery of the windows elaborate and varied. Christ Church, like St. Peter, is in Perpendicular Gothic, but a very much more artistic production. It has chancel, nave, and aisles.

The finest groups of modern Gothic ecclesiastical buildings in Plymouth belong respectively to the Roman Catholic and the Independent bodies. The Roman Catholic Cathedral is a noble example of the Early English style, its one defect being that the

wall line is not broken and relieved by buttresses. It consists of a clerestoried nave of great height, north and south aisles, transept, apsed chancel with aisles, a lady chapel behind the high altar, and a tower and spire. The cathedral was erected from the designs of Messrs. J. and C. Hanson, of Clifton. It is 155 feet long, 80 feet wide at the transepts, 50 feet wide over the nave and aisles. The tower and spire are singularly graceful and elegant. Adjoining the cathedral in Cecil Street is the Bishop's residence; in Wyndham Street a nunnery; and in the rear capacious schools. The whole are Gothic; and their effect is exceedingly picturesque.

Sherwell Chapel in the Tavistock Road, with the schools adjoining, forms the second group to which reference has been made. The chapel and schools were erected from designs by Messrs. Paull and Ayliffe, of Manchester. The chapel consists of nave, lean-to aisles, transepts, tower and spire; and there is an apsidal organ recess behind the pulpit. There are galleries over the aisles and the entrance porches. It is a great and instructive contrast to compare this elegant and commodious fabric, with its structural grandsire the Old Tabernacle.

The Western College, designed by Mr. Hine, is another noble example of modern Gothic architecture. Some excellent carving, moreover, is introduced into the capitals of the pillars, the whole being reproductions of natural foliage.

Another excellent modern Gothic building, and one too which differs in style from any other in the town, is the Duke of Cornwall Hotel, which was designed

by Mr. Hayward. Its sky line is exceedingly good, thanks to the happy way in which the chimneys have been treated.



The clock-tower in George Street was erected in 1862-3 to contain the clock, which was the gift of Mr. W. Derry. It was built by the Corporation as a fountain, there being no legal powers to erect a clock-tower pure and simple, and has always been dry. It cost the town £300, and Mr. Derry nearly another £200 beside the clock, which came to £220.

The history of the Guildhall now in course of erection, with that of its predecessors, would be in little a history of the town. At the beginning of the present century Plymouth, in common with nearly all the corporate towns of Devon and Cornwall, possessed a guildhall which had at least the merits of

antiquity and picturesqueness. The threescore years and ten that have passed since then have been fatal to nearly all these ancient buildings, and that of Plymouth was destroyed to give place to the present abortion, which has ever and anon haunted the dreams of art-loving Plymouthians, like a hideous nightmare, from that time to the present. There are still many old inhabitants who can remember the penultimate guildhall; and Mr. James Skardon, magistrate, who was present at the opening of the structure erected upon its site, participated in the ceremonial with which the foundation-stone of the new Guildhall was last year laid.

In the palmy days of the Elizabethan era, the Guildhall was situated in Southside Street, and there Drake and Hawkins, Raleigh, Davis, Frobisher, and Grenville, and many another unforgotten worthy, must often have participated in the civic hospitality. About the year 1606 it was deemed advisable to erect what was certainly the second, probably the third successive Guildhall, at the head of High Street, that being a more central situation. The Corporation seem to have gone rather wildly to work; for in February, 1607, they put upon record, "that a parcel of the guildhall had been of late new builded for the keeping and holding of the King's Majesty's courts, and courts of the said borough; and that the said town was greatly indebted for the building thereof, and were not able to clear the same without selling some part of the revenue thereof, to the great discredit of the town and corporation." And so in order to avert the discredit, the mayor, with the twelve aldermen and



twenty-four common councilmen, made an order for the assessment of the inhabitants. There is an entry that the Guildhall was rebuilt in 1667, but this seems to be an error, as the amount charged is only £264. Possibly it underwent an extensive repair.

The old Guildhall—that is, the one destroyed in 1800—was erected upon arches, and under and around



it was held the butter and poultry market, whilst an enclosed court behind was supposed to accommodate the corn and vegetable markets. The state of the thoroughfare on market days may be imagined. In front of the hall a tower projected, in the upper storey of which was a clock surmounted by a cupola.

Through the first storey of the tower, which formed a porch, the hall was approached, access being gained from the street by a flight of seventeen steps. These seventeen steps became in course of time proverbial ; and a hint that anyone would have to ascend a staircase containing that number of stairs was considered the reverse of complimentary. At the western end of the hall were seats for the mayor, magistrates, and Corporation, and at the eastern a staircase to the Council Chamber—a small room, partly in the tower and partly over the hall. At the west of the building was the entrance to the debtors' prison, beyond which was a place where criminals were confined or detained prior to commitment. But the lowest deep was the Clink, a couple of dungeons so called, the entrance to which was by the side of the steps, and which were justly the terror of all evildoers. Howard in 1774 visited Plymouth to see the Clink, and condemned it strongly. In the space under the hall, on Sunday mornings, the Corporation used to assemble prior to going to church, their dignity being kept up by the attendance of a stalwart halberdier, who marched guard over their persons while they strutted their little hour upon the stage preparatory to wending their way to St. Andrew.

The present building was intended to supply all the purposes of the old one and more. The architect of this "unsightly, inelegant, and inconvenient erection, with its wretchedly-designed Gothic windows," undertook to provide all the necessary rooms for a court-house, a spacious guildhall, a mayoralty house, with dining-rooms and kitchens, civil and criminal



prisons, guard-rooms, a news-room, and a market-place! His plans were adopted; £7,000 were spent; and the building was then found to be "inconvenient as a guildhall, unsuited for a mayoralty house, totally inadequate as a prison, and perfectly absurd for market purposes." Tell it not in the city of waters—his name was Eveleigh, and he came from Bath.\*

Plymouthians were not long content with this *multum in parvo*. Nearly fifty years ago the desirability of rearing a better structure was urged. But threatened men live long, and so Eveleigh's ugly building has continued down to the present time to be the centre of the civic life of Plymouth. When the new Workhouse was erected it was decided that the most central site for a guildhall would be to the west of St. Andrew Church; and the old Workhouse was consequently purchased by the Corporation. From time to time the property of the Orphans' Aid Charity and lands and houses adjoining in Basket and Westwell Streets were likewise acquired; and Westwell Street, as one of the main approaches, was widened. The propriety of proceeding to build was mooted upon several occasions; and in 1869 it was decided to invite plans and offer three premiums for the best. Twenty sets of designs were sent in; and the Council having called to their aid Mr. Waterhouse as professional adviser, the first premium was awarded to Messrs. Alfred Norman and James Hine, of Ply-

\* Ten years after it was built the prison portion was described as being so badly managed and so inadequate as to be filthy in the extreme, "the lowermost cells filthy beyond conception." The new prisons on North Hill were completed in 1849, at a cost of £13,500.

mouth. Early in 1870 tenders were invited for the works upon Messrs. Norman and Hine's plans. Twelve were sent in, from which the Council selected that of Messrs. Call and Pethick, Plymouth, for £32,475.

This was in June. In the following month the site had been so far cleared as to allow of the foundation stone being laid by the Mayor, Mr. W. Luscombe. The day chosen, the 28th, turned out exceedingly fine; and many thousands congregated to witness the ceremonial. The proceedings were opened with prayer by the Vicar, the Rev. C. T. Wilkinson; and the Mayor was invited to lay the stone by Mr. Rooker in an eloquent speech. After the ceremony there was of course a dinner at the "Royal."

The new buildings are laid out in two blocks, with a public place between them averaging 100 feet in width leading from Westwell Street to Catherine Street. In the southern block are the Guildhall and Assize Courts; in the northern the Council Chamber and Municipal Offices. The buildings are in the Early Pointed style, the details bold rather than elaborate. They are intended to harmonize in character to some extent with the Old Church Tower, the wings being treated in broad and simple masses, leading up to central features of sufficient richness and dignity.

The great hall will be the finest public room in the West of England, and will consist of a nave fifty-eight feet wide, with aisles on either side, the extreme length being 146 feet. The aisles will open into the body of the hall, with two arcades of seven arches each, the pillars supporting which will be of polished granite. The traceried windows of the clerestory of

the great hall will follow the mystical and perfect number of the arches below. The hall is intended to seat 2,600 persons, and will have seven separate doorways for ingress and egress. At the west end will be a large orchestra, in connection therewith a suite of ante-rooms, available for performers and others, and at the east end will be a gallery to hold about 300. The internal dimensions of the police-court are to be forty-six feet by thirty-eight, and adjoining will be rooms for magistrates, magistrates' clerk, attorneys, and witnesses; in the rear the station-house, police muster-room, reading room, &c. Each of the assize courts, at the Westwell Street end, will be about forty-nine feet long by thirty-eight wide, and will have separate entrances and apartments for barristers, attorneys, and witnesses, with distinct accommodation for the public in galleries at the ends of the courts, approached by a stone staircase in an octagonal angle tower, forming an important feature of the Westwell Street elevation. The crowning feature, however, of the pile of buildings will be the great tower at the south-west corner of the site, nearly 200 feet in height. The municipal offices block will have an angle tower 100 feet high.

There formerly stood at the entrance of Plymouth from the Tavistock Road a noble tree, which was known by the name of the Borough Plane Tree. In 1846 the trustees of the Tavistock Turnpike proposed to cut it down, and the Council expressed a very strong opinion to the contrary. However, in the end the tree was felled, and its memory has almost departed. From age it had lost its top, and become

stagheaded. With many other trees around old Plymouth (there yet remain some on the Hoe) it was planted by an ancestor of the present Attorney-General. There are several relics of it in the shape of articles made from its wood. Not very far off once stood the old town cross.

Many a memorable event in the history of Plymouth is connected with the Hoe. In fact, it would be impossible to compile an historical chronicle of the Hoe which would not serve to a considerable extent as a record of the town likewise. Time out of mind it has been the theatre of important local demonstrations. The amusements of the people have been no less familiarly identified with it. When peace was declared in October, 1801, a bonfire was lit thereon which contained 800 barrels, and was sixty feet high, by 240 in circumference. When the Crimean war came to a close tens of thousands thronged the Hoe to witness the illumination of the men-of-war that lay just inside the Breakwater. When the Prince and Princess of Wales were married a bonfire was reared on the Hoe, which rivalled that of threescore years before, and the flames of which were seen for many a long mile. In days when bear and bull baiting were fashionable amusements, the Hoe was the scene of the sport. Well we know that in Elizabethan times it was noted for its bowling green. And turning to another phase of its history, we find that on July 6, 1797, three marines, Lee, Coffey, and Bronham, were shot there, in presence of 10,000 soldiers and marines, for mutiny and sedition. They had formed a plot to release the French prisoners, and to upset the Government.

corner a great Round Tower. It seemeth to be no very old piece of work. Hard by this Castelle waul



Veysey (now bishop of Exestre) began a peace of an high and strong waul from Plymouth by good enclosyed ground and strong waul." Risdon in describing the same fortification says: "A castle they have, garretted with turrets at every corner, supposed by some to have been built by the Vaulltorts, lords of the town; but more probably showeth to be the work of Edmund Stafford, bishop of Exon, the Lord Chancellor of England, whose armories engraven in the work were lately to be seen. The haven is sufficiently fortified on all sides, and chained over when need requireth, having on the south a peer, they call it the fort, built upon the cliff between the town and the sea, called the Haw, a place delightful for walk and prospect, which fort with the town force is sufficient defence against all hostility."

From this old "castle quadrate" the arms of the town, a saltire between four castles, are considered to have been derived. The saltire is now understood to be vert and the castles sable, the coat being properly blazoned, argent, a saltire vert between four castles sable; but there are some grounds for believing that originally the saltire was sable also. A manuscript in

the British Museum gives as an earlier coat a ship with three masts, without sails or yard-arms, and a flaming beacon. The motto is variously stated, "*Turris fortissima est nomen Jehova, or Jehovæ.*" Eastward from the Castle was its barbican, which has given name to the pier that now occupies the site. When the Citadel was built the Castle was destroyed, but a few vestiges of its crumbling walls are still left on the summit of the hill overlooking the Barbican. At the commencement of the century there were more considerable remains of the north-eastern tower, and in a straight line "the remains of the right (south) eastern tower, about a foot from the ground, on the hill leading to the Victualling Office."\*

Leland's reference to the "waull" of Bishop Veysey is by no means clear, but the Chart of Plymouth Haven, taken about the date of his visit, shows a line of fortification along the seaward front of the Hoe from the blockhouse of which he speaks to Millbay, and a line of wall running westward from the westernmost tower of the castle. The latter in all probability was Veysey's work.

Divers other works of fortification were from time to time constructed on the Hoe, which are spoken of in the Corporation records by the name of platforms. Thus in 1589 we learn that they were new timbered; in 1591, that they were methodized into a fortification regular; and in 1592, that "the fort was built on Haw cliffs." In this year a tax was laid upon pilchards for the purpose of fortifying the town. Some old plans in the British Museum show what the Fort

\* Haydon's "History of the Port of Plymouth."

was like. It occupied a portion of the site of the present Citadel, and was enclosed by a ditch and rampart, which completely isolated the ground upon which it stood. If reliance can be placed upon a drawing by some unknown Italian, preserved among the Cottonian MSS., the ancient chapel of St. Catherine was also comprised within its bounds. In 1595 gates were set up round the town, and the churchyard and other positions subsequently defended by barricades. According to the plan taken by the Italian, Plymouth was about this time entirely enclosed by ramparts which came to the water's edge at one end at the Hoe, and at the other near Queen Anne's Battery. This is, so far as we are aware, the only evidence that mural defences of a more extended character than those which are shown in the map of the defences of Plymouth at the time of the siege ever existed. In 1643 the wall enclosed the strictly urban part of the town only, the Hoe and the eastern borders of Sutton Pool being beyond its limits. Whether the wall formed part of the ramparts shown by the Italian, or whether these latter were exterior outworks of earth cannot be decided with certainty. The latter supposition is by no means improbable; and if it be correct, they may probably be referred to the end of the sixteenth century, when the defences of the town were strengthened under apprehension of an attack from the Spaniards.

After the erection of the Fort the townsfolk desired to be entrusted with its custody. Great part, if not the whole of the cost had fallen upon them. In 1599 they had to pay £126 10s. for the works executed in

the previous year. They did not, however, obtain their desire; and Sir Ferdinando Gorges was appointed governor.\*

There had been defences of some importance in the reign of Henry VIII. at Stonehouse, along the cliff line from Western King to what is now Devil's but was then Cremill Point. These in the time of Elizabeth were considerably improved. Portions of them are yet to be seen, and twin blockhouses on the Mount Edgumbe and Stonehouse sides of the passage into Hamoaze still exist. There is another old tower in Firestone Bay; but of that at Eastern King very few traces remain.

Among the Harleian MSS. is a report on the defences of the town in the year 1624. The Fort is described therein as a guard for the famous harbour of Cattewater, therefore not so well placed as it might have been, yet of great strength and consequence. It contained fifteen serviceable cannon (three of brass), and seventeen unserviceable, and to render it thoroughly efficient, an expenditure of £206 12s. was required. St. Nicholas Island is stated to be impregnable, as the only means of approach was by small boats, which could easily be driven off. The works had never been finished, and required an outlay of £137 12s. 8d. There were twenty serviceable cannon

\* In 1587 a bye law was enacted that whatsoever inhabitant of the town should withdraw himself therefrom at the time of any hostile attack being made upon it, should forfeit all his goods and chattels within the liberties of the town; and if a freeman forfeit his freedom, and never be suffered to dwell in the town again. In 1584 the Corporation successfully claimed their right to appoint a governor for Drake's Island, the Queen allowing £39 10s. 10d. for rent and repairs.



and ten unserviceable. One thousand and twenty-two pounds a-year was allowed for the maintenance of the garrison, at the disposition of Captain Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

The Siege furnishes the next stage in the history of defensive works at Plymouth. The walling of the town was then repaired and completed, and the redoubts and breastworks already mentioned in the fifth chapter constructed. After the raising of the siege, the walls being of no further utility, were gradually suffered to fall into decay, and as the town grew, little by little disappeared. The gates followed suit. Friary Gate, which stood near the remains of the Friary, was removed in 1765; Gasking or Gascoigne Gate, otherwise North Gate, in 1768; Frankfort, or West Gate, which occupied part of the site of the Globe Hotel, in 1785; \* Martyn's, between Briton Side and Bilbury Street, in 1789; Old Town, at the head of Old Town Street, rebuilt in 1759, in 1809; East, or Coxside Gate, which stood near Jory's Alms-houses, not long subsequently; the Barbican, or South Gate, in 1831; and the last remaining, Hoe Gate, in 1863. Strenuous efforts were made to preserve Hoe Gate, which had become the property of Mr. T. W. Fox. That gentleman was however inexorable, and sold the materials by auction for £44. The Gate was leased in December, 1657, by the Corporation to Mr. Timothy Alsop, then one of the representatives of the borough (who had rebuilt it), for a term which expired in 1754. It subsequently

\* There is an entry that West Gate was removed in 1661. If so it was rebuilt.



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HOE GATE (INTERIOR VIEW).

1

passed from the possession of the Corporation altogether. The house was at one time the residence of Dr. Musgrave, a native of Exeter, and a man of considerable literary repute, who lived and died poor, "impolitic, unfortunate, and finally deserted."\* William Elford Leach, the naturalist, one of the most eminent men whom Plymouth has produced, was born in the same building.

Martyn's Gate was removed by a subscription of the neighbouring inhabitants in consequence of an accident to a servant of the Royal Princes, who was injured whilst passing through it on a carriage. It was noted down to a late date in the last century as being the scene of annual fights between the Quay boys and Old Town boys, the former being called Burton (a corruption of Breton) boys. The Old Town used to aggravate the Burton boys during the wars with France, by reminding them of the damage the French had done in their quarter. Long after the fighting had ceased its memory was preserved in the sign of a public-house, called the Burton Boys. This was changed to the Black Lion, from a preference on the part of the owner "for some more peaceful name."

The wall started from Sutton Pool at Coxside, ran through Friary Court and gardens to Whitefriars Lane; thence to the back of Gascoigne Street; then nearly east and west through the gardens behind Hewer's Row, by the north side of Ham Street, through the gardens of Park Street, to the head of Old Town Street; thence across what is now the Market to the Globe Hotel; and thence again through

\* Header's "Museum."

the Westwell Street churchyard to the head of Hoe Gate Street, and so to the Pool at the Barbican. Thirty years ago many old inhabitants recollected the existence of immense mounds of earth at the head of Hampton Street, and at Frankfort Gate, which had formed two of the spurs or projecting portions of the circumvallation. Near the latter place there was likewise an old castellated building covered with ivy. Almost every vestige of the wall has now disappeared. Whilst removing a portion in Gascoigne Street in 1862 three skeletons were found.

Fifty years ago there were abundant traces of the outer line of defence raised at the time of the siege. Pennycomequick Fort occupied the site of the northernmost houses in Bellevue Place, Cobourg Street, and of course every vestige disappeared when these dwellings were erected. Behind North Hill Cottage a mound still marks the site of Maudlin Work; and therein occasionally iron balls of from an inch to an inch and a half in diameter have come to light. Of Holiwell Fort there are some scant remains in the field in front of Longfield Terrace. Five-and-twenty years ago it was nearly perfect. Several mounds in the field below the Fort appear to have formed an advanced post of the besiegers. From Holiwell to Lipson Fort, the last of the series, which stood on the brow of the hill overlooking Lipson, the connecting ditch and rampart may be made out with tolerable distinctness. At Lipson the forward angle of the work is well defined.

The erection of the Citadel marks the next stage in this section of the history of Plymouth. The

foundation is said to have been laid on the twelfth of June, 1671 ; but six years before that date the great fort on the Hoe is recorded to have been commenced, and the entrance gateway bears date 1670. The Citadel was designed by Sir Bernard de Gorme, and whilst it was in progress the works were inspected by Charles II. and his brother James. The interest they felt was natural, seeing that it was intended not only for the security of the place, but "also for a check to the rebellious spirits of the neighbourhood." In the British Museum is a plan of the Citadel as it appeared in 1677 ; which shows that the older fortifications near the sea level had to a certain extent been incorporated with the new work. A new harbour, about 240 feet long by 80 feet wide, is delineated as having been hewn out of the rocks immediately in front, with an entrance at its south-western corner. This no longer exists, unless we may identify it with the present landing-place. On the site of the magazine a spot is marked as the Grott or Giant's Cave.

In 1701 it was proposed to provide for the defence of the infant Dockyard by the construction of two batteries at Drake's Island, one of nineteen and the other of fourteen guns ; of one at Mount Edgcumbe of twenty-four guns ; and of one at Stonehedge (Stonehouse) Point of eleven. The total cost was estimated at £8,798, of which £200 was for the purchase of land.

An exceedingly interesting series of reports upon the fortifications of Plymouth was made by Colonel Christian Lilly in 1717. He describes the works on Drake's Island as being ruinous, and as requiring an

outlay of £7,000; whilst he recommends an expenditure of £9,958 at the Citadel. Of 318 cannon at the port, in addition to a field train of 16 guns, 63 were unserviceable, and not more than 190 were wanted, including 20 for Stonehouse Point, and 4 for Cawsand. The tower at Mount Batten\* was then mounted with 6 guns, whilst 8 more were lying in the adjacent bay. There were likewise 14 guns to the eastward of the Citadel at Pigg's Point — Queen Anne's Battery. All these Lilly recommended should be brought away as useless, the Citadel being sufficient. There only remains of



Queen Anne's Battery at present a portion of the exterior wall facing the sea, with several embrasures.

The Citadel consists of five bastions, with intermediate works, and was originally mounted with 165

\* This was built in the reign of Charles II., on the site of one of the old forts erected for the defence of the town at the siege. It consists of two floors, the upper having a vaulted roof, and has embrasures for ten guns. Above the entrance on the level of the upper floor is a coat of arms.

guns. A statue of King Charles II. formerly occupied a niche over the gateway; and a comical statue of King George II. stands within the enclosure, which was erected in 1728, at the expense of Captain Louis Dufour. It is the work of an artist named Robert Pitt.

When Browne Willis visited Plymouth early in the last century, there were according to him several of the guns which Queen Elizabeth had provided still on the batteries, the largest having a calibre of seven inches. It was the practice in returning a salute to fire two guns less than the number given. An odd number of guns were fired on joyful occasions, an even number on sad !\*

The Citadel stands partly upon the site of the old fort, and partly upon additional ground granted by the Corporation. Sixty years ago the military authorities set up a claim to the whole of the Hoe, which they endeavoured to occupy to the exclusion of the townsfolk. The latter took the matter up, and it was warmly contested. The Mayor and Corporation asserted their rights by erecting boundary-stones, and by throwing down barriers which the Government officials had erected. The question was at length brought to a final issue by Dr. Bellamy in his mayoralty, and ended in the complete establishment of the rights of the Corporation, the Government having permission to use the Hoe for the exercise of troops, and to enter for that purpose by a key should the ground at any time be locked up by the municipal authorities.

From the date of the erection of the Citadel down

\* "Notitia Parliamentaria."



to 1860, with the exception of strengthening the works on Drake's Island, no addition of importance was made to the fortifications of Plymouth. Devonport as the arsenal was considered to have the first claim upon the protection of the Government. It was entrenched in 1756; but the works were of a very poor character, and were subsequently improved. Additional defences were likewise provided for the entrance of Hamoaze. In 1860 a Royal Commission recommended the construction of a chain of forts and works entirely enclosing the Three Towns, and stretching from Tregantle on the west, to Staddon on the east. These have since been proceeded with to completion. None of them are within the limits of the town. More important than either of the others is the Breakwater Fort, built upon an artificial island of stone immediately within, but detached from the centre of that work. It is the strongest and most important structure of the kind in existence.

## CHAPTER XV.

## THE BOROUGH WATER WORKS.

"My name is Water ; I have sped  
Through strange dark ways, untried before,  
By pure desire of friendship led,  
'Sir Francis Drake's' ambassador ;  
He sends four royal gifts by me—  
Long life, health, peace, and purity."—*Lowell*.\*



ORIGINALLY the water supply of the inhabitants of Plymouth was chiefly derived from wells, private and public, the locality of the latter being yet indicated by such names as Westwell, Buckwell, Finewell, and Ladywell Streets and Places. No entry is to be found in the records of the Corporation relative to the water works having a date anterior to 1585, in which year, the twenty-seventh of Elizabeth, an Act was passed "for preservation of the haven of Plymouth." This Act recites that the town of Plymouth, being an ancient borough town, bordering upon the main sea, having a pleasant and safe harbour, where as well the king's ships as the ships and vessels of her Majesty's subjects trading to foreign parts or otherwise did often arrive, had for the most part of the year none or very little fresh water within a mile of the town, by reason whereof the mariners, being driven to go such a distance for

\* Slightly altered.

water, often lost good winds and opportunities which they might take the benefit of if they might water their ships near; that the town moreover was subject to fire, as well by the enemy as by negligence and other mishaps at home; and that the haven of Plymouth, being one of the principal harbours of the West of England, was daily filling up with sand from the tin works, for which some speedy remedy was required. Such being the requirements of the town, the Act declares that the water of the river Mew could be brought into it without any great charge, by reason of the land being very barren or heathy, or else dry ground which would be bettered by the water; and gave power accordingly to the Corporation to dig a trench between six and seven feet over for the purpose, the rights of the millers on the Mew or Meavy being protected.

Every Plymouthian is familiar with the fact that it was Sir Francis Drake, uniting the qualifications of an hydraulic engineer to those of a warrior,

“Who with fresh streams refreshed this town that first,  
Though kissed with waters, yet did pine for thirst.”

Drake was—and is even now by some—supposed to have brought the water into Plymouth at his own cost; and dire have been the contentions concerning the right of the Corporation to charge for the use of that which was considered a free gift of the gallant navigator to the inhabitants. This was a matter of some moment when the commonalty was understood to mean the freemen only, but since the Municipal Reform Act has been a point more of theoretical

than practical importance. A Corporation entry, under date 1590, states: "Agreed with Sir Francis Drake to bring the water into the town, and paid him £200." Subsequently he is said to have been paid for his great care and diligence £352 16s. 8d. He also had a lease for sixty-seven years of the grist mills which he built—two at Widey and four in the town. It is likewise stated that £350 were paid in compensation. In 1598 Walter Elford was presented with the freedom of the borough for granting land for making the leat at Sheepstor. Supplies of water to the estates at Manadon, Whitleigh, and Ham have always been regarded as made in consideration of land granted for the leat by the respective owners of these properties; and, according to tradition, it was agreed that the owner of Warleigh was to have a supply on condition of giving a portion of deer for the annual feast of the Corporation, and that when deer got scarce he paid a guinea in lieu. Sir Edmund Anderson, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Mr. Baron Stroud, visited Plymouth in 1593 to assess the compensation to be paid.

There are various statements as to the time during which the works were in progress, varying from three months to three years. Probably twelve months is nearer the mark. On the Old Town Conduit now in the Tavistock Road, we read, "Sr Francis Drake first brought the Water into Plymovth in 1591." Elsewhere the date is given as the 24th April, 1590. Whenever it was there was great rejoicing, the Mayor and Corporation going out to meet the water as it flowed along the newly-cut channel.

Almost the only surviving relic of ancient usage connected with the Corporation is the Fishing Feast, which takes place annually in August. The Mayor and Corporation then inspect the leat, and at the Weir Head drink in water to "the pious memory of Sir Francis Drake;" and in wine, "May the descendants of him who brought us water never want wine," which, seeing that Sir Francis left no descendants, is a harmless sort of wish that can do little good and certainly no harm.

The erection of conduits appears to have commenced in 1592. In 1598 those which stood on Foxhole Quay were built, and in 1602 those at East Gate, and the Barbican. There appear at length to have been the following:—Three at the Guildhall, two in Basket Street, two in Pike (Looe) Street, and one each opposite Friary Green, at the bottom of Friary Court, at the head of St. Andrew Street, in the opening leading from Lower Street to Exeter Street, at the west angle of the Parade, the west end of Lower Street, the head of Old Town, the west end of Whimble Street, the bottom of Gascoigne Street, at the Old Town Shambles, the Old Fish Cage, the Old Mitre, Martin's Lane, Higher Public Conduit Street, Notte Street, Market Street, Barbican, Bedford Street, Southside Street, and Foxhole Quay. These were gradually removed, but not without considerable opposition; and when in 1827 the reservoirs adjoining the Tavistock Road were built, the last remaining, that in Old Town, was taken down, and a portion of the materials built into the boundary wall of the reservoir area, where they now remain. Pro-

ceedings were taken against the Corporation for closing the conduits, but came to an end when the Municipal Reform Act passed.

That from a very early period it was the custom for the Corporation to afford supplies to private houses there is ample proof. In 1602 an order was passed prohibiting any of the inhabitants from bringing water from the great pipe into their houses without leave of the Corporation. The first water rental extant is dated 1608, and contains the names of thirty-eight persons, of whom one paid a rental of 10s. and the rest 4s. each. These rates continued to be paid until 1740, when 8s. was charged to private householders, with special rates for victuallers and brewers. Another change took place at the close of the century, and the water was then leased out to private houses for twenty-one years on payment of a fine of three guineas and a half, and an annual rent of 12s. a year, the lessees being at the cost of laying the pipes. Down to a much later period the water property was not in the way of water rent largely productive to the Corporation, the amount received in 1821 being only £197 11s. 6d. Early in the American war the Corporation had refused to supply the military authorities, and in 1766 had rejected an offer of Sir John St. Aubyn of £200 a year for the supply of Devonport, although Sir John offered to be at the expense of finding additional streams for Plymouth if required. Here the old jealousy of Dock stood in the way of self-interest; and in 1792 it showed itself in an opposition raised to the formation of the Devonport Water Company, the Corporation

then declaring that their stream was big enough to supply everybody!

Boswell cites an amusing instance of the prejudices of Dr. Johnson in relation to this very matter. At the Doctor's visit to Plymouth in 1762, he "set himself resolutely on the side of the old town, the established town, in which his lot was cast, considering it as a kind of duty to stand by it." When Dock asked for water Johnson, "affecting to entertain the passions of the place, was vehemently in opposition, and half laughing at himself for his pretended zeal where he had no concern, exclaimed, 'No, no; I am against the Dockers; I am a Plymouth man. Rogues, let them die of thirst. They shall not have a drop.'" On another occasion he is reported to have exclaimed with the utmost vehemence, "I hate a Docker."

The system of water leases fell in in 1822, and in 1824 an Act was passed authorising an arrangement for the supply of the Victualling Yard and the Naval Hospital. Under this Act the primary great series of alterations and improvements in the water works were made. First, one of the reservoirs in the Tavistock Road was formed, and then the other, the conduits done away with, and a regular system of pipes laid; the total expense, defrayed out of the corporate estates (considerable portions of which were sold for the purpose), being about £25,000. Chiefly as a consequence of these changes 1831 saw the water rents advanced to £1,694 2s. While the population had increased fifty per cent., the rents had gone up seven hundred and fifty. Still the expenditure continued, and in the ten years from 1843 to 1853

amounted to £16,000. Since 1853 the outlay on permanent improvements has considerably exceeded £25,000; Hartley reservoir costing £11,000, and the mains from Knackersknowle to Plymouth £12,000.

The necessity for making further improvements led to an application to Parliament in 1852, which was rejected in consequence of opposition raised by some of the inhabitants and by certain outside landowners. An action was subsequently commenced by a body of ratepayers against the promoters of the bill, to prevent their costs coming out of the corporate funds. A Chancery Commission sat at the Hotel to take evidence. At length the matter was settled by the defendants agreeing to pay £500 into the Borough Fund and the out-of-pocket costs of the action.

The reservoir at Widey was made in 1849, that at Knackersknowle in 1852-3, and that at Hartley in 1862. In 1867 a bill was obtained which gave enlarged facilities for dealing with the property; and under it a constant supply is being substituted for the intermittent.

Under the Act of 1867 power was taken to supply consumers outside the municipal boundaries, in consequence whereof an arbitration case is now pending between Sir Massey Lopes and the Corporation. Sir Massey claims heavy compensation on the ground that as riparian owner he has the property in all the water of the Meavy which remains after the wants of the town itself—for watering ships, cleansing the harbour, protection against fire, and use by the inhabitants—and the requirements of the Government establishments, under the Act of 1824, are supplied.



Litigation indeed seems to be an indispensable attendant on the water property. In 1653 the Orphans' Aid Hospital was endowed with one-fourth of the mills, and of the water in the leat, in consideration of a debt due to the hospital from the Corporation. In 1805 a committee recommended that these fourths should be re-purchased for £1,800, and the recommendation was adopted. In 1840 the Charity Commissioners thought there was something about this arrangement which called for enquiry, and filed a bill against the Corporation, contending that the hospital was entitled to one-fourth of the mills and to one-fourth of the waste water of the leat. The Master of the Rolls in 1845 however decided against the bill.


There was considerable controversy likewise concerning the covering in of the waste leat, which, before the Great Western Docks were formed, ran by an open channel into Millbay, and in which several children were drowned.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART.

"There learned arts do flourish in great honour,  
And poets' wits are had in peerless price."—*Spenser*.

"He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one ;  
Exceeding wise, fair-spoken, and persuading."—*Shakspeare*.

HE roll of Plymouthians who have distinguished themselves in the various departments of literature, science, and art, is one of which any town might well be proud. This chapter could with ease be expanded into a volume.\* Our object is however to indicate, not to exhaust.

The first native of Plymouth whose name is recorded in history is likewise its first literary character, Ealphage, of whom Camden notes that he was a married and a learned priest, and flourished in the time of William Rufus.

The oldest existing literary productions connected with Plymouth have reference to the murder of Mr. Page, merchant, by his wife and her lover, at his house in Woolster Street on the 11th February, 1591.

\* The author has collected the titles of about 1,500 books and pamphlets published in the Three Towns, or written by natives thereof. A local Bibliotheca would not lack interest.

Johnson and Dekker wrote a tragedy founded on the occurrence. This is lost ; but a very scarce tract, giving an account of the crime, was reprinted in the second volume of the Shakspeare Society Papers, and there are some ballads written upon it also extant. The titles of three of these latter are, "Lamentation of Mr. Page's wife, of Plimouth, who being enforced to wed against her will, did consent to his murder for the love of George Strangwidge, for which fact they suffered death at Barnstable, in Devon. The tune is Fortune my Foe." "Lamentation of George Strangwidge, who for consenting to the death of Mr. Page, of Plimouth, suffered death at Barnstable." "The complaint of Mrs. Page for causing her husband to be murdered for the love of George Strangwidge, who were executed together."\* The story and the ballads appear to have been exceedingly popular. The writers of the ballads evidently sympathised far more with the offenders than with their victim. Strangwidge is made to say—

"Farewell, my love, whose loyal heart was seen,  
I would thou hadst not half so constant been ;  
Farewell, my love, the pride of Plymouth town ;  
Farewell the flower whose beauty is cut down."

\* Another broad-sheet ballad of the period is entitled, "A warning for married women by the example of Mrs. Jane Renolds, a West-country woman, born neere unto Plymouth, who having plighted her troth to a seaman, was after married to a carpenter, and at Plymouth carried away by a spirit ; the manner how shall be presently related." Yet another of later date (1640) records the gallant defence made by the *Elisabeth Jane*, a 200 ton merchantman of Plymouth, against three "Turkish pyratts men of warre," off the coast of Cornwall. All these are in the Roxburgh Collection.

And Mrs. Page declares of her lover,

“Wronged he was through fond desire of gain;  
Wronged he was even through my parents’ plain;  
If faith and troth a perfect pledge might be,  
I had been wife unto no man but he.”\*

Sir Richard Hawkins, son of the famed Sir John, as already noted, wrote an account of his luckless voyage to the South Seas under the title of “The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight, on his voiage into the South Sea, which he made in 1593.” The book was published in 1622, and dedicated to the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I. Hawkins remarks that the voyage had brought upon him “nothing but losse and misery, whilst unto your Highness, your Heires, and Successors, it is most likely to be advantageous.” He died while the book—of which he had intended to write a second part—was in the press.

A statesman of considerable ability, Sir Thomas

\* Inasmuch as Mr. Halliwell devoted an entire volume to a dissertation on nursery rhymes, we may surely be allowed to appropriate a note to a couple of examples of Plymouthian domestic versification. We give the first in the vernacular :—

“Barber, barber, bo’sun,  
Cut off his head an’ roast ’un,  
Put un in a bisky bag,  
An’ send un over to Osun.”

A Devonport version substitutes Cawsand for Oreston in the last line. The second runs—

“It’s five o’clock all over Dock,  
The ships are gone to sea;  
There’s nobody home but Punch and Joan,  
Having a cup of tea.”

Doubtless in each of these cases there is some hidden, although there is no apparent, meaning. The nautical allusions in both do not indicate a very high antiquity.

Edmonds, was born at Plymouth in 1562, his father being the "customer." He became ambassador for James I. to Brussels and to France; and was subsequently Comptroller of the Household, Treasurer and Steward of the Marshalsea. He distinguished himself by his opposition to the political views of the Catholic party; and many of his papers are of permanent interest.

John Quick, who was ejected from the living of Brixton, was born at Plymouth in 1636. After 1662 he was imprisoned at Plymouth, and finally became pastor of the church at Middleburg, in Zeland. He wrote largely, his principal work being a History of the Councils of the French Reformed Church.

Joseph Glanvill, divine and philosopher, was born at Plymouth in the same year as Quick; his father being a merchant. He became Rector of Bath, Chaplain to the King, and Prebendary of Worcester, and died in 1680. He was a voluminous writer on philosophical and theological subjects; but is chiefly known by his treatises concerning witchcraft and apparitions. Among his principal writings are "*Philosophia Pia*; a discourse of the religious temper and tendencies of the experimental philosophy which is profest by the Royal Society;" "*Plus Ultra*; or the progress and advancement of knowledge since the days of Aristotle;"\* "*Scepsis Scientifica*; or confest ignorance the

\* One Dr. Stubbes, of Warwick, wrote against this work, and Glanvill rejoined in another, "wherein the malignity, hypocrisie, falsehood of his [Stubbes's] temper, pretences, reports, and the impertinency of his arguings and quotations in his animadversions on '*Plus Ultra*,' are discovered.

way to science" (first published as "The Vanity of Dogmatizing"); "A Blow at Modern Saducism;" and "Saducismus Triumphatus, a full and plain evidence concerning witches and apparitions."

George Hughes, the well-known ejected vicar of St. Andrew, wrote several religious works, and his "Aaron's Rod Blossoming; or the Benefit of Affliction," was declared by Baxter to be the best of its class. Several of his sermons are embodied in his "Analytical Exposition of the Book of Genesis, and the first Twenty-three Chapters of Exodus." Mr. Crane, another ejected minister, was a native of Plymouth, and wrote "a valuable treatise" on Divine Providence. The Rev. Abraham Cheere, pastor of the Baptist Church, also a Plymouthian, wrote poetry as well as theology. Some of his writings were published after his death: in "A Looking-glass for Children;" and "Words in Season." They are very quaint, and very earnest.

In 1662, Francis Drake, nephew of the circumnavigator, published "The World Encompassed," a narrative of his uncle's adventures.

Early in the eighteenth century Jacob Bryant, the mythologist, was born. He left Plymouth when a child, and never re-visited his native town. His classical attainments were great. He wrote largely, and his best known work is his disquisition on ancient mythology. This was published in 1774, under the title of "A New System in an Analysis of Ancient Mythology, wherein an attempt is made to divest tradition of fable, and to reduce the truth to its original purity." Most of his writings were connected

with classical subjects, but he was one of the champions in the controversy respecting the authenticity of the Rowley poems; and he wrote several books in defence of revealed religion,—upon the plagues of Egypt, upon the authenticity of Scripture, upon “the passages in Scripture which the enemies of religion thought most obnoxious;” and upon the Logos.

Dr. Zachary Mudge, vicar of St. Andrew (1731–1769), was born in Plymouth in 1694. “He was educated at Exeter, and was at first a Dissenting minister at Bideford, but on conforming to the Church obtained preferment.” He published in 1739 a volume of sermons which gained extensive circulation. Another work of his was an “Essay towards a New English Version of the Book of Psalms.” The sermons received the warm praise of Edmund Burke, and were condemned by Johnson, who had but just partaken of the worthy vicar’s hospitality. Mudge was regarded by Northcote and Reynolds as a man of extraordinary talents. “Even Burke bowed to his authority, and Sir Joshua thought him the wisest man he ever knew.” The High Church opinions of Dr. Johnson and Sir Joshua prepossessed them in his favour, and “they came to consider him a sort of miracle of virtue and wisdom.”\*

Another famous Plymouth divine was Dr. Hawker, who was born at Exeter in 1752, and became vicar of Charles in 1784. He was a strong Calvinist, possessed exceptional pulpit powers, and was a most voluminous writer. So great was his popularity that during his ministrations the accommodation of his church had

\* Hazlitt’s “Conversations of Northcote.”

to be largely extended by the addition of galleries. The influence of his teaching has by no means disappeared, although High Calvinistic doctrines are far from being locally so popular as he left them. Among his books, which would form a library of themselves, are "Hints to those who write against Antinomianism;" "Meet Morsels to Hungry Souls in the Lord's Word for the Lord's People;" "Lectures on the Person, Godhead, and Ministry of the Holy Spirit;" "Evidence of Plenary Inspiration;" "Recommendation of Private Prayer;" "Misericordia; or Companion to the Sorrows of the Heart;" "Christian's Pocket Companion;" "Youth's Catechism;" "Specimens of Preaching;" "Life of William Combes;" "Life of Henry Tanner;" "Letters to a Barrister on Evangelical Preaching;" "Letter on the London Female Penitentiary;" "The Commentary on the Bible;" the "Poor Man's Commentary on the Old and New Testaments;" and the "Morning and Evening Portions."

Henry Moore, the last Presbyterian (Unitarian) minister of Liskeard, was born at Plymouth in 1732, and educated under Dr. Doddridge. He settled at Liskeard about 1787, and died there. He was a man of very amiable character, and possessed considerable taste and learning. A small volume of his poems was published after his death by Dr. Aikin.

Nathaniel Howard, a schoolmaster at Tamerton, and a native of Plymouth, was remarkable for his acquaintance with languages. Proof of his proficiency in Persian was given in a paper on Persian poetry contributed by him to the first volume of the Transactions of the Plymouth Institution. He was a



poet also, and published a translation of the "Inferno," and (1804) an original poem on Bickleigh Vale.

The greatest poet whom the South of Devon, since the days of Browne, has produced was born at Plymouth in 1777, though all his life activity was connected with Devonport. Mr. N. T. Carrington found time amidst the wearisome duties of a most laborious vocation, that of a schoolmaster, to write several volumes which place him in the front rank among English poets of the second class. After giving to the world a number of scattered effusions, he published in 1820 his "Banks of Tamar." In 1826 followed, with preface and notes by Mr. W. Burt, his most important and best known work "Dartmoor," which went through two editions in twelve months. Lastly in 1830, the year of the author's death, appeared "My Native Village." Northcote thought Dartmoor better than its subject. The engravings were "too fine by half;" and the author had "shown his genius in creating beauties where there were none, and in exhibiting enthusiasm for rocks and quagmires!" So much for the taste of even an R.A.

Dr. Bidlake, born at Plymouth in 1751, "became master of the Grammar School, and incumbent of the chapelry at Stonehouse." He was a man of very varied acquirements; "music, painting, and poetry, divided his time with pursuits more strictly professional." Dr. Bidlake wrote several works, including sermons and poems. He was likewise a Bampton Lecturer. His "Virginia" was published in 1800, and his "Year" in 1813.

Samuel Rowe, author of the "Panorama of Ply-

mouth," and of the "Perambulation of Dartmoor," the most complete and important work upon the Forest, though not a native of Plymouth was chiefly connected with it. Born at Brixton in 1793, he set up in business at Plymouth at the age of 19 as a stationer. Subsequently he went to College, and becoming ordained was successively Curate of St. Andrew; St. Budeaux; St. Paul, Stonehouse; St. George, Stonehouse; and finally Vicar of Crediton. He died in 1835.

One of the most remarkable figures in the literary history of Plymouth is the celebrated Dr. Kitto, the deaf author. Kitto's parents were Cornish, and he was born in Stillman Street in December, 1804. His father was a mason, and Kitto was brought up to assist him.\* In February, 1817, occurred the accident which led to his becoming totally deaf. Whilst helping his father, who was at work on the roof of a house, he fell thirty-five feet to the ground, and when he recovered consciousness was found to have lost the sense of hearing. His family were in very humble circumstances, and he was put into the Workhouse. There he remained until 1821, when he was bound apprentice to a shoemaker named Bowden. Circumstances led to his indenture being cancelled, and to his return to the Workhouse. A paper written by Kitto in 1823 came to the notice of the Hele trustees, and he was taken in hand by the Rev. Robert Lampen, Dr. Woollcombe, Col. Hawker, and Mr. G. Harvey. This led to his being put to board with a good friend, Mr. Burnard, clerk to the Workhouse. Some of his

\* Kitto's uncle constructed the embankment works on the Laira.

essays then appeared in print in the *Plymouth Herald*. After three or four years he sought to learn dentistry with Mr. Groves, of Exeter; but did not like the occupation, and became connected with the Church Missionary Society. Under its auspices he went to Malta, and subsequently joined his old friend Mr. Groves at Bagdad, where he remained for several years. He died in 1854 at Cannstadt. He was a fellow of the Royal Society of Arts. His writings are many, but his principal works are the "Pictorial Bible" and the "Encyclopædia of Biblical Literature."

Some very quaint and eccentric works were issued by Mr. Robert Webb Stone Bacon, who dubbed himself the poet corporate, and who was quite an authority upon matters municipal. Among them are "Mayor-choosing Day at Plymouth, or the Lambertine of the Angels" (1824); "Municipal Reform, or the Old Guiled all and the New Gilled all;" "Our Charter Week;" "Our Act Week;" "Gnothi Seauton: the Holey Cullender superseded by the Holy Calendar, a Church Almanac, &c." (1844); "Mayors and Mayoralities, or the Annals of the Borough" (1846).

Sir R. P. Collier, the present Attorney-General, who comes, as stated heretofore, of a very old and leading Plymouth family, is entitled to rank among the literary men of Plymouth, as well as among its statesmen. He published in 1842 some excellent translations from Lucretius, and in 1849 a treatise on Mining Law. Several of his speeches have been reprinted. Sir Robert has been particularly distinguished by his labours for the reform of the Ecclesiastical Courts and of the Bankruptcy Law.

Mr. George Wightwick, architect, referred to in a previous chapter, not only wrote several important works on architectural matters, but published during his residence at Plymouth two historical plays—Richard I. (1848) and Henry II. (1851).

Among miscellaneous literary works published by local authors not already mentioned,\* there should be named "Poetic Tendrils" (1823), the first-fruits of the muse of the Rev. R. S. Hawker, of Morwenstow, who has since written so much and so well. The "Hospital" (1809), "Infancy" (1814), by — Wilde, librarian at the Plymouth Public Library; "Mount Edgcumbe," by Cyrus Redding (1811); "Portugal Delivered," by G. Woodley, (1812); "The Progress of Truth and other Poems," by J. Colmer (1818); "Fancy's Wreath," by J. L. Stevens (1820); "Sybils Leaves," by Miss Miles (1826); "Castalian Hours," by Miss Dixon, who also wrote (1830) "Journals of Excursions to Dartmoor;" "An Historical Account of the Danmonii," by Joseph Chattaway, a native of Devonport (1830); "Nine Years of an Actor's Life," by R. Dyer (1833); "Anschar, a Story of the North;" and "The Forest of Dartmoor and its Borders," by R. J. King; "Britain and the Gael," by the Rev. W. Beal, a native of Devonport; "Vox Telluris; or the world as it was, as it is, and as it is to be," by G. Bartlett (1847). The sermons and letters of the Rev. G. Doudney, of Charles Chapel, were printed in 1867, after his death. A volume of sermons has also been published by the Rev. F. Barnes. A "Eucharistic Manual," by the Rev. G. R. Prynne, has obtained wide

\* Scientific books are referred to a few pages farther on.

circulation. Several poetical effusions have been published by Mr. Hampden Wotton.

The first printing press in Plymouth was set up in 1696 by Mr. D. Jourdain; and the first newspaper issued in the town, if not in the county of Devon, appeared just a quarter of a century later, under the title of "*The Plymouth Weekly Journal, or General Post*;" containing an impartial account of all the most material occurrences, foreign and domestic," and "printed by E. Kent, in Southside Street, near the New Key, where advertisements are taken in, and all other business relating to printing done as well and as cheap as in London, or any other place." The *Journal* begun in September, 1721, and died in Sept. 1723. It was sold for 1½d. Nearly sixty years passed before it had a successor. The *Plymouth Chronicle* commenced in May, 1780, and stopped in May, 1782. In March, 1808, another paper of the same name was started, which lasted just ten years. In August, 1819, the *Plymouth and Devonport Weekly Journal* commenced. In 1863 it was merged into the *Western Daily Mercury*, established by its proprietor in 1860. The *Plymouth Gazette* lasted from August, 1819, until October, 1820. In the following month of the latter year, the *Plymouth, Devonport, and Stonehouse Herald* was established. In 1868-9 this paper was published for a short time as a daily. The *Plymouth, Devonport, and Stonehouse Advertiser* lasted from March, 1831, to March, 1832. The *Plymouth, Devonport, and Stonehouse News*, which commenced in September, 1836, ceased to appear in April, 1837. The *Plymouth Times* was started in February, 1842, and after some vicissi-

tudes died several years since. *The South-Western Standard* only endured from September to November, 1844. In December, 1852, was started the *Plymouth Mail*, which in July, 1862, was amalgamated with the *Western Morning News*, the oldest daily paper west of Bristol, established in 1860. *The Western Weekly News* originated in October, 1861. *The Western Daily Standard*, first published March, 1869, ceased to be in March, 1870. It was revived in September of the latter year as a weekly, but finally ceased to appear in November. The only newspapers now issued in Plymouth are the *News* and *Mercury* daily, the *Weekly News* weekly, and the *Herald*.

Numerous magazines have been published in the town. None have had a very successful career. In 1770 appeared the Plymouth Magazine, which only reached six numbers; in 1772, the Plymouth Magazine and Devonshire Miscellany; in 1809, the Selector, edited by Bidlake, of which but three numbers were issued; in 1814, the Plymouth Literary Magazine; in 1815, the Plymouth Journal. In 1822 came the Magnet, which reached its third half-yearly volume, and on the discontinuance of which the Devon and Cornwall Magazine was commenced. In 1830 the Philo Danmonium, which Mr. Wightwick edited, was started. Six parts were issued. In 1833 the South Devon Monthly Museum, which had a much longer career than any of its predecessors, was commenced by the Messrs. Hearder. In 1834 the Christian Witness, a quarterly religious journal, appeared. In 1840 came the West of England Magazine, edited by the Rev. W. Beal. The South Devon Literary

Chronicle was started in 1846 as a weekly magazine, and in the following year was issued monthly. It did not survive 1847. In January of the latter year was commenced the Plymouth Health of Towns Advocate, a monthly journal, devoted to the interests of sanitary work in Plymouth, and principally promoted by the Rev. W. J. Odgers. It lasted six months. In 1855 the Plymouth and Devonport Penny Magazine, and in 1857 the Plymouth and Devonport Monthly Magazine, appeared, but only for a short time. The like fate attended the Temperance Intelligencer, the first number of which was issued in 1861; the Devon and Cornwall Magazine (1862), "Clack," a clever monthly magazine (1865), and the Western Chronicle of Current Events (1869). The Devon and Cornwall Temperance Journal, published by the Devon and Cornwall Temperance League, has continued to be issued monthly since its first appearance in 1868. In 1870 the Mannamead School Magazine commenced. This year The Three Towns Methodist Messenger has been sent forth, and comic serials entitled The Thunderbolt and The Lantern.

Before passing from literary to scientific matters it will be well to trace the history of the literary and scientific institutions of the town. Mr. Rooker\* mentions that at the time of the visit in 1762 of Dr. Johnson there existed a literary club which held its meetings at the Pope's Head; and which, having originated in the casual meeting of gentlemen who

\* "Literature and Literary Men of Plymouth," to which this chapter is much indebted. Most of the passages quoted herein not otherwise acknowledged are from this work.

were accustomed to bathe under the Hoe, was called the Otter Club. Another club, held at the "Bunch of Grapes," Kinterbury Street, is memorable as having been connected with a veritable ghost story. The president was lying dangerously ill one club night, when suddenly what was taken for his ghost walked in, took the vacant chair, lifted an empty glass, and departed again. As soon as the terror-stricken members could muster courage to make enquiries at the president's residence hard by, they were still more horrified to learn that he had just died. It was not until the decease several years afterwards of his nurse that she confessed he had paid the visit to the club in *propria persona*—the ruling passion strong in death—whilst she was neglecting her charge.

The Public and Cottonian Library "originated chiefly in the literary zeal" of Mr. George Eastlake in 1810. The foundation-stone of the library building was laid in 1812, a porcelain box made at the pottery in Coxside being deposited at the same time. The Library contains the Cottonian and Halliwell collections. The former, presented in 1850, consists of prints, sketches by celebrated masters, bronzes, carvings, works in art, and three portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds. The building was extended for its accommodation at a cost of £1,500. The Halliwell collection of manuscripts was the gift of Mr. J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S., F.S.A. It comprises many rarities. The Plymouth Law Society's Library, founded in 1815 is likewise deposited in the Public Library. This year an Incorporated Law Society has been formed.



The Mechanics' Institute was established in 1825, shortly after the formation of the institution at Devonport, which had been intended to embrace the Three Towns. The first Institute building in Princess Square was opened by an introductory address from Dr. Cookworthy in December, 1827. These premises were removed and the present capacious edifice erected in 1849.

We now come to the Plymouth Institution, which has been for more than half a century the centre of Plymouthian literary and scientific life. Mr. Henry Woollcombe had the honour of being its founder. It originated in 1812 in a small society, the members of which used to meet alternately at each other's houses. Afterwards they assembled in a room in Woolster Street, then in the committee-room of the Public Library, then in the Fine Art Gallery, Frankfort Street. In 1818 the Athenæum was commenced, the foundation-stone being laid on the 1st of May in that year by Mr. Woollcombe. "On the 4th of February, 1819," the Rev. Robert Lampen opened the new building with a discourse "worthy of the occasion and of himself." The museum attached to the Institution originated subsequently to the society itself; the museum building being commenced in 1828, and finished in 1829. An attempt was made on the death of the Prince Consort to extend it as an Albert memorial, but did not succeed. The published transactions of the Institution include many valuable contributions to the elucidation of science in its local connections. The first volume, issued in 1830, contained, amongst other papers, a Geological

Survey of some parts of the country near Plymouth, particularly between the Plym and the Tamar, by Mr. John Prideaux, and an account of the Ornithology of the South of Devon, by Dr. Edward Moore, F.L.S. Since that date have been published catalogues of the Lepidoptera of Devon and Cornwall, by Mr. J. J. Reading, M.E.S.; of the Marine Algæ of Plymouth by Mr. J. Boswarva; of the Mammals, Birds, Reptiles, and Amphibians of Devon, by Mr. J. Brooking Rowe, F.L.S.; and of the Flora of Devon and Cornwall (to which several new species have been added by Mr. T. R. A. Briggs, now a member of the Institution), by Mr. I. W. N. Keys. Other noteworthy papers contained in the transactions are those of Mr. W. Pengelly, F.R.S., F.G.S., on the Red Sandstones, Conglomerates, and Marls of Devonshire; and by Mr. J. Hine, F.I.B.A., on the Old Buildings of Plymouth. Mr. Henry Woollcombe, the founder, indefatigably exerted himself for many years in collecting materials for and compiling a history of Plymouth. His manuscripts, preserved at the Athenæum, form a rich storehouse of interesting facts that, but for his industry and zeal, would in all probability have been lost.

The physicians and medical men of Plymouth were its earliest scientific observers. Dr. James Yonge, F.R.S., who died in 1721, not only practised with great success, but wrote several valuable philosophical and medical works, including "*Medicaster Medicatus*," "*Sidrophie Vapulans*," "*Çurrus Triumphalis*," "*Virtues of Pleum Terebinthinæ*," "*Observations on Chirurgy and Anatomy*," and the "*Natural use of Cantharides*,"

besides contributing largely to the Philosophical Transactions. Dr. Huxham, author of a celebrated treatise on fevers, practised and died in Plymouth. His work was translated into several foreign languages; and the adoption of its principles saving the life of the Queen of Portugal, brought Huxham much honour. Dr. John Mudge, son of Dr. Zachary Mudge, the vicar, won for himself an extended reputation by his skill, not only in his profession, but in mathematical and optical matters. He wrote several medical works, including dissertations on small pox, cough, disease of the lungs, and fractures. His brother Thomas was an eminent mechanic and horologist. Dr. Woollcombe (born in 1773, died in 1822), published several medical works, edited the last edition of Risdon, made large and valuable contributions to the last edition of Prince's Worthies; and wrote upon the vital statistics of the town. Dr. Edward Moore wrote somewhat extensively on zoological subjects. Mr. C. N. Moore, also a member of the medical profession, who died in 1870, was the author of several important works upon cancer. Mr. J. C. Bellamy, a member of another well-known Plymouth family (born in 1812, died in 1854), published in 1839 the "Natural History of South Devon;" in 1843, the "Housekeeper's Guide to the Fish Market;" and in 1850, "A Thousand Facts in the History of Devon and Cornwall, with special reference to Plymouth."

William Elford Leach, some time curator of the British Museum, was born at Plymouth in 1790. He was a "naturalist of most indomitable enthusiasm, and very extraordinary acquirements." Kirby said

of his zoological labours that he handled everything, and adorned all that he touched. In 1816 he published a Systematic Catalogue of the Indigenous Mammals and Birds in the British Museum; and about the same time—1814-17, the Zoological Miscellany. Among his other works are "Malacostrata Podophthalmata Britannica; Moluscorum Britanniae Synopsis;" and "On the Genera and Species of Eproboscideous Insects;" and "On the Arrangement of Ostrideous Insects." He died of cholera, in Italy, in 1836.

The earliest geological work of importance in connection with the locality was published about the year 1820, by the Rev. R. Hennah, at that time chaplain of the Garrison. It is entitled "A Succinct Account of the Lime Rocks of Plymouth," and established the fossiliferous character of these deposits. It is illustrated with lithographs by a local artist of ability, long since dead, Mr. Worsley. Peculiar interest has attached to the limestone rocks of Plymouth, in consequence of the discovery therein from time to time of caverns containing the remains of various extinct animals.

Sir William Snow Harris, next to Dr. Leach the best known man of science whom Plymouth has produced, was born in 1791. His father was a surgeon, and he, following his parent's steps, after studying at Edinburgh University, became a surgeon of militia. He early turned his attention to the physical sciences, particularly electricity, and in 1828 read a paper at the Athenæum, before the Duke of Clarence, on the subject of his great invention, the application of lightning conductors to ships. In 1831 his papers or

the elementary laws of electricity procured him the fellowship of the Royal Society. In 1835 he gained the Copley medal, and in 1839 his "Enquiries concerning the Elementary Laws of Electricity," published in the "Philosophical Transactions," obtained the prize as the Bakerian lecture. In 1841 he was awarded a Government pension of £300; in 1845 had a vase presented to him by the Emperor of Russia; and in 1847 received the honour of knighthood. He made improvements in the compass, which were generally adopted; but the matter by which he is best known is his patented invention of tubular lightning conductors for ships. The inertia of the Government departments resisted the application of this invention for fifteen years; and when at length it was adopted its author received no compensation until the House of Commons voted him £5,000. Afterwards came the pension and the knighthood recorded above. He died in 1867. Sir William was a musical amateur of very high qualifications.

One of the most remarkable members of the Plymouth Institution was Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton Smith. Born in Flanders in 1776, he entered the English army, and after a distinguished career, went on half-pay in 1820. Shortly after this event he settled in Plymouth, becoming a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1824, and of the Linnæan in 1826. On the formation of the Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society (now amalgamated with the Plymouth Institution), he was elected president. Colonel Smith was a man of vast and miscellaneous erudition, his artistic powers were great, and his industry inde-

fatigable. Among his published writings were the military part of Archdeacon Coxe's "Life of Marlborough;" and a narrative of the retreat of the French from Moscow, written in French, and disseminated by the English Government in France. He was a collaborateur with Sir Samuel Meyrick in his great works, "The Ancient Costume of the British Islands," and a "Critical Enquiry into the History of Ancient Armour." As a natural historian he wrote largely. The "Ruminantia" in Griffiths's edition of Cuvier's "Animal Kingdom," were by him; and he wrote the volumes on "Dogs," "Horses," the "Introduction to Mammalia;" and on the "Natural History of the Human Species" in the Naturalists' Library. At his death in 1859 Colonel Smith left behind him more than twenty thick volumes of manuscript notes upon almost every conceivable topic, to a large extent illustrative of his collection of water-colour drawings, many thousands in number, all executed by himself, and embracing every variety of subject.

Mr. John Prideaux, another prominent member of the Plymouth Institution, and a native of the town, attained to considerable eminence as a chemist, and became professor of chemistry in the Cornish Mining School. He was born in 1787, and died in 1859.

It is not our intention to refer at any length to Plymouthians, native or resident, now living. The eminent position attained by Dr. Jonathan Hearder in the scientific world as an electrician demands, however, that his name should be mentioned. Dr. Hearder's researches are the more remarkable inasmuch as they have been carried on under one of the

most serious of human afflictions, loss of sight. Dr. Hearder has for many years been a member of the Institution.

Another prominent member of this society, Mr. C. Spence Bate, F.R.S., F.L.S, has written very largely on matters of natural history, his special subject being the Crustacea. In addition to many scattered papers in the transactions of the British Association, the *Annals of Natural History*, the proceedings of the Linnæan Society, and elsewhere, he has published several distinct works. Among them are a "Catalogue of the Specimens of Amphipodan Crustacea in the British Museum," with plates (1862); a "History of the British Sessile-Eyed Crustacea," written in conjunction with Mr. J. O. Westwood; "The Natural History of Ivory," and "The Pathology of Dental Caries." The Society of Antiquaries have just published, with plates, Mr. Bate's valuable notes on the Romano-British Cemetery at Mount Stamford.

One of the most celebrated of modern Biblical critics, Dr. S. P. Tregelles, though not a native of Plymouth, has long been resident in the town. His writings include "The Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance of the Old Testament," 1843; "The Greek New Testament, with critically revised text," 1857; "Codex Zacynthius Luke, palimpsest," 1861; and "Horne's Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, revised and rewritten," 1856. His great work is his critical edition of the Greek New Testament.

Some miscellaneous matters connected with science claim a place. In June, 1774, an unfortunate inventor

named Day went down in twenty-four fathoms of water between Drake's Island and the Prince of Wales' redoubt, in a submarine vessel of his own construction. Nothing either of him or it has been seen since. In October, 1831, a whale was taken at Plymouth, which was 102 feet long, and weighed 448,000 pounds. It was seventy-five feet in circumference, and 152 children are said to have been within its mouth at one time.

Plymouth has achieved a great reputation in matters artistic, entirely within the past hundred years. It has given birth to three Royal Academicians and to one President of the Royal Academy, whilst another, Sir Joshua Reynolds, first practised his art within the town, of which he may indeed almost be considered a native. At least Plympton, Sir Joshua's birth-place, is now a suburb of Plymouth. The town was likewise the home of the greatest water-colour artist of the West.

James Northcote, R.A., pupil and biographer of Sir Joshua Reynolds, the first painter of note that Plymouth produced, was born in 1746, and died in 1831. His father was a watchmaker. He went to London when he was twenty-five years of age to study under Reynolds, subsequently spending five years in Italy. At first he was chiefly engaged in portrait painting, but by degrees turned his attention to historical subjects. His two best paintings are the "Murder of the Princes in the Tower," and "Hubert and Arthur." Many of the drawings for Boydell's Shakspeare Gallery were made by him. Northcote was a writer as well as a painter. In 1813 he published "Memoirs



of Sir Joshua Reynolds, with an Analysis of his Discourses;" and in 1828 an illustrated collection of "One Hundred Fables, Original and Select," a second series appearing in 1833. In his "Life of Titian," he is said to have had the assistance of Hazlitt, who after his decease published his "Conversations."

Ambrose Bowden Johns, though his fame was chiefly local, and he was never appreciated during his lifetime as he deserved, stood in reality in the front rank of our English landscape painters, and by some eminent judges was termed the English Claude. Some idea of his powers may be gathered from the fact that a "Sunrise" of his was reproduced by Turner's own engraver, under the idea that it was the work of that greatest of English landscape artists, and that two of his works were sold as Turner's. He was apprenticed to Haydon, father of the artist, and his artistic taste was first developed by being sent to Port Eliot to arrange some books in the library. There Johns saw paintings of merit for the first time, and thence his artistic life dates. He was born in Plymouth in 1776, and died in 1858.

Samuel Prout, the first distinguished water-colour artist of the West, was born in Plymouth in 1783, and was an early companion of Haydon; but preferred to that artist's historical subjects the "ivy mantled bridges, mossy water mills, and rock-built cottages which characterise the lovely scenery of Devon." Before he had reached his twentieth year he had the good fortune to attract the notice of Brittan, the antiquary, then engaged on the "Beauties of England and Wales." Him he accompanied as draughtsman

into Cornwall. In 1805 he went to London, where his abilities soon won recognition and success. One of the most important memorials of his skill and industry is the lithographed series of reproductions of sketches made by him in Flanders, Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, &c. He died in 1852.

Benjamin Robert Haydon, at once most distinguished and most unfortunate, was born at Plymouth, 1786. He was said to have come of the Haydons of Cadhay. His father carried on a large printing and bookselling business. Haydon was a pupil of Bidlake, and was first taught to draw by an Italian named Fenzi, the foreman of his father's bookbinding department, who appears to have given the historical cast to his view of art. Haydon received further aid from Johns and Prout. He was sent to London in 1804 with £20 in his pocket; and his first work, "Joseph and Mary resting on the road to Egypt," was sent to the Academy in 1807, and at once purchased by Mr. Hope, of Deepdene. In 1810 he sought admission to the Royal Academy, but was rejected. The Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg and the Italian Academy were more ready to recognise his genius; and in 1814 he received the freedom of his native town, "as a testimony of respect for his extraordinary merit as a historical painter, and particularly for the production of his recent picture, 'The Judgment of Solomon,' a work of such superior excellence as to reflect honour on his birthplace, distinction on his name, lustre on the art, and reputation on the country." His Dentatus and Solomon took the prize in a historical competition at the Bri

Gallery. Some of Haydon's works were very large; and though most of his paintings were readily purchased at good prices ("Jerusalem" brought £1,500, and the "Judgment of Solomon" £1,000), various causes combined to throw him into difficulties; until, worn out by want of sleep, and harassed by the dread of impending insolvency, his great aims unattained, he committed suicide in 1846. Among his pupils were Landseer, Lance, and Eastlake. His art lectures were highly successful. England owes him a deep debt of gratitude for his labours for the establishment of schools of design.

The most prominent artist to whom Plymouth has given birth was Sir Charles Lock Eastlake, President of the Royal Academy, Fellow of the Royal Society, and at the time of his death Director of the National Gallery. Sir Charles was born in November, 1793, his father being, as his nephew Mr. William Eastlake now is, Law Agent to the Admiralty for the port. His early education was received from Dr. Bidlake. He next went to the Plympton Grammar School, memorable for its connection with his great predecessor in the Presidential chair, Sir Joshua. From Plympton he again removed to the Charterhouse, and whilst there, in 1809, announced to his father that he had determined to become a painter. He had shown artistic ability at a much earlier period, and had been one of the first pupils of Prout. When he finally determined upon devoting himself to art he was placed under the care of Haydon. He was soon thoroughly introduced to the artistic world, and two years later we find him writing a letter to his father

in reference to the visit of Turner to the West. During the peace of Amiens he visited Paris; and in 1815, while Bonaparte was a prisoner on board the *Bellerophon* in the Sound, made his celebrated portrait of the great captive, now in the possession of Lord Clinton. The original sketch belongs to Mrs. Trounce, Hele Barton, daughter of Mr. Shepherd, to whom Eastlake gave it. Not long afterwards Eastlake went to Rome, where and in other parts of the Continent he spent much of his life. He was elected associate of the Royal Academy in 1827; and in 1837 became an F.R.S. In 1841 he was appointed Secretary of the Fine Arts Commission, in which capacity he laboured much and well. In 1847 there appeared the first volume of his "Materials of the History of Oil Painting." In 1850 he was chosen President of the Royal Academy, and received the customary honour of knighthood. In 1855 he became Director of the National Gallery. He died December, 1866, whilst at Florence, and after being interred there, his remains were brought to England, and buried at Kensal Green. Some of his essays were published by Lady Eastlake after his death; with a memoir, and a list of his principal works, which from 1812 to 1855 number 153.

Philip Hutchings Rogers, a landscape painter of considerable power, was born at Plymouth about the same time as Haydon, and like him studied under Bidlake. At the doctor's expense he was sent to London, and maintained there several years. Mr. Rogers met with considerable success in Germany, where he lived for many years, and where he died in 1853.

Williams (T. H.), who had been an apprentice to the elder Haydon, commenced in 1801, in company with Mr. H. I. Johns, an illustrated work in numbers, entitled "Picturesque Excursions in Devonshire and Cornwall." He likewise published other works of a similar character.

The greatest water-colour artist of the West of England, though not a native of Plymouth, was identified with it all his artist life. Samuel Cook was born at Camelford in 1806, the child of a poor woman whose mother kept a bakehouse. His only education was learning to read and write; and it is recorded that at a very early age he evinced a passion for drawing, his first tablet being the slate step of his school. When between eight and nine years of age he was bound apprentice to Messrs. Pearse, woollen manufacturers; but the instinct of his art was too strong upon him to allow him to remain in that occupation. He did sign-painting and graining, obtaining the name of Limner Cook; and by degrees his masters were brought over to consent to his devoting more of his time to this work, "seeing that he would never be fit for anything else." When his time was out, at the age of twenty-one, he walked to Plymouth, taking two portraits on the way. At Plymouth he became an assistant to Mr. Winsford, painter and glazier, at a salary of eight shillings a week, painting occasionally on his own account signs, theatrical scenes, and peep-shows. At length he set up for himself, having acquired skill and repute as a decorative painter, and before long his wonderful artistic powers were recognized. Early friends of his



were Colonel Hamilton Smith, Lady Morley, and Mr. Wightwick; and he also received the patronage of the Duke of Devonshire and of the Mount Edgcumbe family. About ten years before his death, which occurred in June, 1860, he became a member of the New Water-colour Society. Mr. W. Eastlake and Mr. Grigg possess the finest collections of his works.

Nicholas Condy, a local artist of great merit, particularly excelled in marine pieces and in interiors. His skill in the latter branch of art is well seen in the illustrations to the Rev. J. V. Arundell's account of Cothele. Condy's son, Nicholas Matthew Condy, was likewise an artist, but confined himself to marine subjects.

Ball, another local artist, has only left behind him one work of importance, the altar-piece, "The Crucifixion," in St. Andrew Chapel. Like Haydon, he committed suicide.

To living artists, Plymouthians by birth or by connection, we shall only refer briefly. They include Messrs. S. Allport, C. Brittan, F. Browning, A. Cole, A. B. Collier, C. E. Croft, T. Dingle, sen., T. Dingle, jun., J. Elliott, W. Gibbons, S. Hart, R.A., R. Hoskin, Jenkins, F. Lane, H. A. Luscombe, Philip Mitchell, F. W. Meyrick, E. Opie, James Penson, W. H. Pike, W. Williams, Harry Williams, and Sydney Whiteford. Many of these gentlemen are members of the Plymouth Fine Art Society.



## APPENDIX.

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### CHAP. I.—EARLY HISTORY.

Page 4.—Spenser also refers to the existence of the figures on the Hoe in the *Faerie Queene*:—

“That well can witness yet unto this day,  
The Western Hogh, besprinkled with the gore  
Of mighty Goemot.”

Page 13.—Note.—The passage should be, “In the day when King Edward was alive and dead,”—*i.e.* the day of his death.

### CHAP. II.—RISING FORTUNES.

Page 17.—In the “*Nomina Villarum*” 7th Edward II., Sutton Rauff is entered as belonging to John de Dalecurta; Burgus de Sutton to the Prior of Plympton.

Page 20.—In 1230, the remains of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, who died at Penrhas, in Brittany, were landed at Plumvue.—*Annales de Theoksburia*, p. 76, ed. Luard.

Under date May 31, 1289, the bailiffs and commonalty of Plymouth, who had been ordered to prepare a ship to transport men-at-arms and horses upon service, wrote to the King that they had prepared the *Michell*, of Plymouth.—*State Papers*.

Page 23.—The Black Prince rested some days at the Priory, and was conveyed to London in a litter.

Page 25.—An undated paper in the Public Record Office,



contained in a bundle dated 1 to 4 Henry IV., 1399-1403, contains the following list of ships and barges in ports in the South and West of England under the Admiralty:—Otymouth, 1 barge; Exon, 2; Teignmouth, 2; Brixham, 2; Dartmouth, 7 ships and barges; "Portlhmouth," 7 ships and barges; Yealm, 1 barge; Plymouth, 10 ships and barges; Saltash, 2 barges; Loo, 1; Fowey, probably a barge, but the paper is rubbed; Lostwithiel, 2 ships and barges; Falmouth, 2 ships and barges; Padstow, 1 barge; Barnstaple, 6 ships and barges. Portlhmouth is intended for Portlemouth, on the Kingsbridge river, not Portsmouth, which is mentioned elsewhere as having only 1 barge.

Page 29.—As soon as Catherine landed she went to the Old Church in procession. She had had a boisterous voyage.

#### CHAP. III.—THE DAYS OF GOOD QUEEN BESS.

Page 38.—As an instance of smartness we have it recorded that in May, 1591, one Capt. Thomas Fleming, finding no ship fitting in the port, impressed a pinnace laden for Rochelle, and in twenty-four hours unladed her and provisioned her for sea, for thirty-five men for three and a-half months.

Page 41.—Drake's compass is mentioned as still existing, in an account of Plymouth published in 1755.

Page 52.—Here is a stanza from an old ballad of the period—

"Have over the waters to Florida,  
Farewell good London now;  
Through long delays on land and seas,  
I'm brought I can't tell how,  
In Plymouth town in a threadbare gown,  
And money never a deal.  
Hay trixi trim! go trixi trim,  
And will not a wallet do well?"

## CHAP. V.—THE SIEGE.

Page 77.—The King remained for a short time at Widey, and during his stay showed himself daily with Prince Maurice and a goodly cavalier company on Townsend Hill, Mannamead ; hence the townfolk called it Vapouring Hill.

Page 80.—The ancestor of the Collier family referred to was named Smith. He was one of the garrison of the fort at North Hill “in the first Mawdlin or Mutley field.” His wife, or son, was taking him up his dinner (a curious insight this into the conditions of the conflict), and met his comrades bringing back his headless body thrown across a horse.—*Fox's MS. Memoirs.*

## CHAP. VI.—TWO CENTURIES OF DEVELOPMENT.

Page 82.—The Earl of Bath, then Governor of Plymouth, negotiated the surrender of the fort to William at Moditonham House, now the property of Mr. Loam. In 1689 Lord Lansdowne, the earl's son, was governor, and in consequence of his inaction, a quarrel between the garrison and the townspeople, in connection with the rejoicings at the coronation of William and Mary, led to one of the latter being killed. In the spring of the same year two regiments were sent to Plymouth to embark for Ireland. As the result of the crowded state of the town “great infection happened, and upwards of 1,000 people were buried in three months.” Two years later, in 1691, there were 4,500 Danes at Plymouth, apparently soldiers, in great want of provisions.

Page 83.—The Treasury papers for 1695 contain an estimate for building a prison at Plymouth to hold 300 prisoners of war, for £656 19s. 6d.

The date in the sixteenth line should be 1698. Mr. Woollcombe was misled by a misprint in the authority quoted.

Page 87.—A very good story is told of Paul Henry Ourry, who was commissioner of the dockyard at the time the *Ardent* was captured. He is said to have asked the Admiralty, "Shall I, Paul Ourry, burn His Majesty's dockyard, or wait until the French admiral comes in and does it?" The Admiralty commended him for his zeal, but thought, on the whole, that he had better wait.

Page 89.—A fragmentary but interesting diary of John Allen, son of the William Allen who was ejected from the office of Mayor in 1662, for Nonconformity, has been preserved in two old almanacs, *De Rebus Celestibus* for 1664, and *Rider's British Nation* for 1671. They seem also to have served as account-books for the writer, who was a mercer; but, unfortunately, many of the entries are in short-hand. He gives brief accounts of two of the visits of Charles II. At the visit in 1671 (not 1760) Charles landed, on the 17th July, at five o'clock in the afternoon, at the Barbican Stairs, and went to the fort on the Hoe, where the Mayor and his brethren presented him with a purse of gold. He was out on the Hoe by four o'clock the next morning, and subsequently visited Saltash, "Ozen," and Lary. Eighteen persons were touched for the evil. The Royal Squadron mustered seven pleasure-boats and six frigates. In August, 1677, the king and his brother paid another visit, memorable to Allen by the fact that he saw the king oftentimes, and that "my wife had ye honour of being kissed, both by ye king and by his brother James, duke of York." Allen's wife was a Stert of Brixton, then 23 years of age. They had been married in the previous June.

Page 91.—Lord Dartmouth sailed from Plymouth on the expedition to Tangiers. Pepys accompanied him to Plymouth; and "stayed for his doublet, his sleeves altered according to sea fashion."

Page 92.—The Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edin-

burgh also visited Plymouth in August, 1873; attending the march past at the conclusion of the Autumn Manœuvres on Dartmoor, and the Plymouth races. They received addresses from the municipalities of each town.

Napoleon III., with the Prince Imperial, visited Plymouth October 14, 1871. The ex-Emperor was staying at the Imperial Hotel, Torquay, and came down on a visit to the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe. He drove over the Hoe in an open carriage.

Page 101.—In 1691 the *Coronation*, 90 guns, and *Harwich*, 70 guns, were wrecked in the Sound, with great loss of life. The *Conqueror* was lost off Drake's Island in 1760.

#### CHAP. VII.—PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.

Page 105.—A careful search in the Public Record Office has shown that none of the original returns for Plymouth are extant before Edward VI., and that there is no regular sequence of indentures until considerably later. Rydeley, or Rodeley, is also given Rydlere. In 1311 the names occur of Robert Cokeman, Walter Trompere; John de Honyton, Henry Welych. "1312, John Austyn," should be 1313. There were no subsequent returns in this reign.

Page 112.—In November, 1871, Sir R. P. Collier became puisnè judge of the Common Pleas, preparatory to being elevated to the position of Judge of Appeal.

1871	Nov.	Edward Bates (C)	1753.
	"	Alfred Rooker (L)	1511.

#### CHAP. VII.—LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Page 115.—In the last line the motto of the seal should read, "S. commynitatis ville de Svttvn svper Plymmvth." The error has been copied in a history since published.

Page 118.—The original roll of Parliament, containing the Act Charter, is in the Public Record Office. The

"metes and bounds" are there given substantially as in the text, but differ somewhat from the printed copies, running thus: "Inter montem vocat Wynrigg p ripam de Sourpole vsus boriā usque ad le grete dyche alias dict' le grate dicke et exinde itum vsus boriā ad Stokedamarleflete et abinde p litus eiusdem flete usque ad Millebrokebrigge inclusive et deinde vsus orientam p le middeldicke de Houndescom usque ad Houndescombrigge inclusive et abinde usque ad Thornhilpark exclusive et deinde usque ad Lypstonbrigge inclusive et abinde p litus maris continue usque ad le Lare ad le Catte de Hyngston Fyshtorre et Estkyng et abinde usque dict' montem de Wynrigg." It was contended for the Corporation, when the question of the inclusion of the Great Western Docks in the borough was in litigation, that Battery Hill was the ancient Wynrigg. It is so mentioned in a survey-book of the Corporation under date 1679, and in a lease of 1662. But was not the whole range, including both the Hoe and Battery Hill, called the Wynrigg?

Page 119.—The name Venar Ward still exists for the purpose of the land-tax assessment, wherein Old Town Ward is divided into first and second.

Page 120.—The character of the regulation which took place in 1684 may also be gathered from a comparison of the old and new freeman's oaths. These were days in which a man could not even be appointed scavenger without taking an oath to be true and faithful. The particulars in which the oath after the surrender differed from that in use before are given in brackets, the words altered in the original being placed in italics:—"You sweare to be true & faithful to yo<sup>r</sup> Sovereign Lord ye King his heirs and successors, and you shall be obedient and ready to the mayor his ministers & keepers of this Burrough, officers under ye King; the franchise and franchises, libertyes and customes of this Burrough you shall keep & maintain after



y<sup>r</sup> power; *and as far forth as you can you shall save this Burrough harmless against ye King and all his liege people* [you shall save this Burrough harmless as far as lawfully you may], and you *shall be partaker* [shall partake] of all manner of charges touching this Burrough, as in sumons, contributions, watches, wards, toll, *taxes* [tax], & tollage, as other freemen *be* [omitted] of this Burrough, after your power. You shall avow no forraigners goods as your own *goods* [omitted], nor buy *and* [or] bargain with any forraigner or stranger in your own name to ye use behoof *and* [or] profit of another forraigner *and* [or] stranger whereby any custom or duty may be lost or withdrawn from ye [King and the] Mayor and Commons of this Burrough. You shall take noe apprentices for less than seven years, and within that time you shall see them taught and instructed of some honest mystery, craft, or occupation. And if you shall hereafter know any forraigners, merchants, or handy crafts men that shall use to buy or sell or practice any craft continually within ye [this] Burrough, not being free of ye same [Borough] you shall then give warning thereof unto the Mayor of this Burrough for the time being or his officers. And you shall not implead or sue any person [or persons] out of this Court or courts of this Franchise or libertys, of any action cause or quarrell that is pleadable or determinable within ye said Court or courts holden and kept here within the precincts of this Burrough and you shall give and keep true counsell of all things that shall come to your knowledge concerning the publique weal of this Burrough, and you shall wear noe mans livery otherwise than the law *suffereth and permitteth* [permitteth and suffereth] & you shall maintain no cause or quarrel agst ye Mayor and Comons of this Burrough and [you shall from time to time give notice to ye Mayor of this Burrough of all conventicles or unlawful assemblies that you shall

know to be within this Burrough] you shall pay yearly for your freedom to the Mayor and Comonalty sixe pence. These points and all other things touching this franchise & Liberty you shall truly keep and observe as nigh as God shall give you grace. So help you God."

Page 122.—Sixteen times in the year would the Aldermen don their "scarlet" and the Common Council their gowns, according to due regulation. One of these occasions was the anniversary of the first sighting of the Armada, when they would also indulge in cakes and wine. On Freedom-day the boys had liberty to take whatever they found that was eatable; and there were entertainments on that day both at the old and the new mayor's for the respectable inhabitants—the "rabble" having cakes and apples thrown from the windows. On Michaelmas-day it was the custom of the Mayor to entertain "the magistrates, assistants, country gentlemen, officers of the Garrison, and principal inhabitants." This was in the "good old times."

Page 124.—The matrix of the seal engraved is not now known to exist, but from the Heralds Visitation of 1620 it appears that the defaced words are "d'ni regis." Probably they were obliterated at the time of the Commonwealth.

Page 125.—Researches in the Public Record Office and elsewhere have recovered the names of a few more of the early mayors. Richard le Tannere was prepositus of Sutton, 3rd Edward II., 1310. Richard Tannere (probably the same) in 1318. Under the date 1377 Vernon should be Venour. Dymmick is elsewhere given Dymcock, and Boon, Moone. Boon or Bone, however, occurs as one of the petitioners in a petition to the King contained in the bundle in the Record Office, 1399-1403, already cited. In it, too, William Pollard is named as mayor.

Page 127.—1561-62.—Yonge, "*Plimouth Memoirs*," gives Edward instead of William White.

Page 128.—The Mayor of Plymouth used to be charged by the Government with the execution of certain service duties. In the opening years of the seventeenth century we have one writing to the Privy Council that he had sent out a ship with despatches to overtake the Lord Admiral. And James Bagge, Mayor in 1605-6, was repaid £19 13s. 3d. for charges by him disbursed in preparing a pinnace "to send along the coast for the discovery and apprehension of such of the late traitorous conspirators (*i.e.* those of the Gunpowder Plot), as might seek through flight to pass out of the realm."

1606-7.—Elsewhere given Dowman.

Page 131.—1836-37.—Samuel King should be James.

Page 132.—1849-50.—James Moore should be John.

1871-72.—Isaac Latimer.

1872-73.—John Kelly.

1873-74.—Alfred Rooker.

Mr. Kelly, on leaving office, presented the borough with a hammer for the use of the Mayor, handsomely carved in ivory and ebony, and mounted in silver.

Though the statement was made upon the authority of an old MS., it was not Shapley but his Royal master who married a daughter of the King of Sicily. Mr. J. Brooking Rowe has suggested that the Yogge ejected was not the one who built the tower. The Christian names given are different; this is a point on which there is frequent confusion.

Page 133.—Line six, Yonge says 600.

Page 135.—A. Hillersden is named as recorder in 1452.

#### CHAP. IX.—RELIGION.

Mr. J. Brooking Rowe has this year, 1873, published the "Ecclesiastical History of Old Plymouth," first read by him at the Plymouth Institution, which embodies all that is



known upon this branch of the subject. Mr. Rowe does not believe that St. Andrew is the original church of Sutton Prior, but that it was connected with Sutton Valletort; *i.e.* Old Town. But *vide* p. 16.

Page 144.—The Scrope and Grosvenor controversy arose from Sir Richard le Scrope challenging the right of Sir Robert Grosvenor to the coat—azure a bend or. The Commissioners who sat at the White Friars were Lord Fitzwalter, Sir John Marmyon, and Sir John Kentwode; and among those whose evidence was then taken was John of Gaunt, who declared for Scrope.

Page 145.—Mr. Rowe quotes an interesting description of the Franciscan chapel, which contained a number of painted panels, and much carved woodwork. He is of opinion that remains of a Dominican monastery still exist in the distillery.

Page 146.—Mr. Rowe states that up to the middle of last century there was a house in what is now Bedford Street, traditionally connected with the Cistercians.

Page 156.—The names of many of the pre-Reformation vicars have been recovered. Ealphage was vicar *temp.* William II., and was succeeded in turn by Sadda, Alnodus, Robert Dun, or Dunpriest, William Bacon. William de la Stane was instituted by Bronescombe. In 1334 Nicholas de Weyland succeeded William de Wolley. Brantyngham instituted John Hanney, and later John Edenes. About 1402 Michael Sergeaux was succeeded by John Gyles. Lacey instituted Ranulph Morewill on the death of John Cokworthy, and he was succeeded by Thomas Mochell. John Stubbes was vicar 1472; Antony Bonfaunt was instituted in 1502; and Cardinal Hadrian de Castello resigned in 1509.

Page 157.—Greensworth succeeded in 1677. On his death there was a controversy in the Corporation, one party favouring Mr. Clagget and the other Mr. Horneck, who,

according to Yonge, was a "tinkling cymbal." The presentation lapsed, and Gilbert was appointed by the Bishop.

Page 158.—In 1871 the *Nonconformist* published a statement of the number of places of worship in Plymouth, as compared with the returns for 1851, given on this page. Their accuracy was questioned, and a statement concerning the various dissenting bodies was then published by Mr. Alfred Rooker, substantially corroborative, so far as they were concerned. The figures given for 1871 are :

	NONCONFORMIST.		Increase since 1851.		MR. ROOKER.	
	Places of Worship.	Sittings.	Places.	Sittings.	Places.	Sittings.
Church of England . . .	12	11000	2*	1385		
Presbyterian . . .	1	1200	1	1200	1	1200
Congregationalist . . .	5	3650	...	682	6	4040
Baptist . . .	4	3300	3	2264	5	3994
Friends . . .	1	400	...	...	1	400
Unitarians . . .	1	700	dec. 1	26	1	400
Wesleyan Methodist . . .	4	3750	dec. 1	1474	5	4061
Primitive Methodist . . .	1	450	1	450	1	450
United Methodist . . .	1	1000	...	692	1	900
Bible Christians . . .	1	628	...	...	1	450
Brethren . . .	3	760	3	760	4	800
Roman Catholics . . .	1	700	1	700	3	950
Jews . . .	1	150	...	...	1	200
All others . . .	3	1900	dec. 8	dec. 3850	4	1270
	39	29588	1	5738	34	19115

Page 163.—General Lambert went to Drake's Island in 1667, and died there in 1683. He amused himself during his captivity by painting flowers. Harington, author of "Oceana," was also imprisoned there, but allowed to remove into Plymouth on giving a bond of £5000 that he would not escape.

\* One church half finished not included. Mr. Rooker stated that what error existed in the comparison must be in the government computation of 1851. Under the auspices of the Bishop of Exeter, a Church Extension Society for the Three Towns has been formed, and the foundation stone of one new church in Plymouth was laid in October of this year—All Saints—on the Barley House Estate, St. Peter's parish.

Page 177.—There is now a Carmelite nunnery on part of the property which once belonged to the White Friars.

#### CHAP. X.—EDUCATION.

Page 184.—A. Horsman was master of the Latin School in 1655.

Page 191.—The King Street [Ragged] Schools are now in the hands of the School Board, by whom the buildings were purchased. The Batter Street [Chapel] School [p. 190] is also carried on by the Board, who rent the rooms. The Board likewise rent the Wesleyan School-rooms in Tracey Street [p. 192], and have begun school buildings in Treville and Castle Streets, and Sutton Road. They carry on at present eleven schools.

Mr. Nathan left £14,000, not £20,000 to charities.

Page 193.—An educational census was taken by the School Board soon after its appointment. There were 3,114 children between three and five, 10,966 between five and thirteen. Of these 11,620 were at school, and 2,460 not. Some of the latter were, however, receiving education; and those who were not were 846 of the first-class, and 1,299 of the second.

In consequence of the Board adopting the principle of the 25th clause of the Education Act, under which payment can be made out of the rates of fees for indigent children in denominational schools, Mr. Serpell, who had been elected chairman, resigned his seat. The contest to fill the vacancy took place in November, 1872, and turned upon the clause. Mr. S. Elliott (Friend), who was one of a number of Nonconformists who had refused to pay the School Board rate on the ground of conscientious objection, was the candidate of the opponents of the clause; Mr. G. Jago, master of the Free School, the candidate of its supporters, who were chiefly Churchmen and Roman



Catholics. The contest was an exciting one; and Elliott won by 177, polling 1,457 votes to Jago's 1,280.

CHAP. XI.—CHARITY AND PHILANTHROPY.

Page 201, paragraph one.—In 1872 there was a return to the old system of election, and Mr. Bayly brought an action against one of the elected Guardians, Mr. Cousins, to test its validity. Scratching was then decided to be legal; but the Guardians this year (1873) resolved that voters might "try back."

Page 209.—The Penitentiary is in Ham Street; the Home in Hill Street.

Page 211.—The fourteenth annual report of the Charity Commissioners, 1865-7, puts the total income of the endowed charities within the borough and the tithings of Compton Gifford and Weston Peveril at £3,649 9s. 11d. At the first inquiry it was £3,028 16s. 3d. These charities were apportioned thus: Education, £2,106 12s. 8d.; apprenticing and advancement, £561 15s. 5d.; clergy, lecturers, and sermons, £9 4s.; Church purposes, £21 15s. 6d.; almshouses, &c., £545 10s. 5d.; articles in kind, £237 18s. 9d.; money, £76 17s. 4d.; general uses of the poor, £77 13s. 10d. It is probable that before long there will be a rearrangement of most of these endowments in application to education.

CHAP. XII.—TRADE, COMMERCE, AND MANUFACTURE.

Page 212.—The fabric rolls of Exeter Cathedral contain an entry of the cost of the carriage of the glass of the Lady Chapel (which came from Rouen) from Sutton to Exeter, of 10s. There were in all 632 feet. This was in 1317-18.

Page 214.—There are in the Public Record Office numerous documents, mostly fragmentary, which relate to the customs of the port at the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the 15th centuries. Plymouth was then closely

associated with Fowey, and among the collectors of customs for the two ports, who seem to have been merchants, we find the names, chiefly in the reign of Henry VI., of William Bentley, Richard Denzell, John Cory, John Cockworthy, John Serle, Thomas Pilkington, T. Treffry, John Scott, Vincent Pittlesden, William Spencer, Dionis Bampton (Henry IV.), W. Hertside (Henry V.), and Robert Treyage (Henry V.). Controllers mentioned are William Santon, Richard Way, John Pylle (twelfth Richard II.)

The most interesting commercial document connected with old Plymouth is a customs book in the same great repository (sixth Henry VI.—1437). The total number of ships entered for the year was 65; namely, October, 6; November, 12; December, 1; January, 4; February, 12; March, 2; April, 2; May, 6; June, 3; July, 2; August, 3; September, 12. The following local vessels are entered as arriving with cargoes:—Of Plymouth—The *George*, in Oct., November, and December. The *Mary*, in November, Feb., and September. The *Catherine*, in November, February, April, August, and September. The *Antony*, in February and September. The *Margaret*, in Feb. The *Christopher*, in January, July, and September. Stonehouse—The *Julian* and the *Richard*, both in November. Millbrook—The *Christopher*, in February. Yalmo [uth]—The *Margaret*, in October and March. Landulph—The *Catherine*, in Feb. The *Thomas*, in Feb., May, and March. Aysshe [Saltash]—The *Richard* and the *Christopher*, both in May. The *James*, in February. Total, 16 ships, 28 cargoes.

London ships came six times; Dartmouth, 5; Guernsey, 8 (4 in November); Exmouth, Exeter and Fowey, once each.

There were foreign ships from—France 4 (Guienne, Lanterneau, Brest, Guerrande); Portugal 5 (Oporto 2, Lisbon

1); Norway, Denmark, Holland, Genoa, Dusan, or Dufant, and "Spruce."

The merchants who paid customs included Robert Folthym, John Nigholls, John de la Lande, Thomas Hoten, William Pollard, Walter Clovelly, Stephen Chapman, Peryn Thomas, Thomas Bythman, John Shippeley, John Pagnell, Walter Facey, Thomas Gille, John Martyn, Thomas Pyppe, John Seeley, John Halbye, John Facey, T. Clede, or Glede, Thomas Smyth, Fardell, Thyche, Casker, and Hall. Most of these were among the magnates of the little town.

During the English holding of Guienne and Aquitaine, and throughout the French wars of the fourteenth century, Plymouth was one of the principal ports at which ships entered from and left for Bordeaux; and it soon became the favourite harbour for vessels from the northern ports of Spain.

Page 217.—In 1625 there was a dispute between Plymouth and Saltash as to which should raise a ship sunken in Cattewater. The Saltash people said they had never been required to do so before. Plymouth was willing to help, but thought that as Saltash had the dues she ought to pay. The dispute was referred to authorities in London.

Page 218.—7th Oct., 1650, an official survey was made of the water and pool of Sutton, as part of the Duchy of Cornwall, then held for the Commonwealth. The report in the Public Record Office states that the profits of the same were—anchorage and keelage of any ship entering the pool or touching the land there; measurage and bushelage of every ship entering within the pool freighted with any kind of corn, grain, malt, or salt, or any such thing, and unladed there; lastage of any ship unladed within the pool; a fine of 12d. yearly on every fishing-boat taking fish and coming within the pool—and pottage:—all of which had been granted under letters patent dated 14th June, 4th



Charles I. for 20½ years from 25th March, 1638, for £13 6s. 8d. yearly (?) to Sir John Walter, Sir James Fullerton, and Sir Thomas Trevena. They in the same year assigned the right to Thomas Caldwell; he by deed, Dec., 1634, to Sir David Cunningham; he to Peter Herdon, of Plympton St. Mary; and he to the Governor, assistants, wardens, and poor people of the Hospital of Orphans' Aid. The Surveyors reported that houses had been built on the brink of the pool within high water-mark; but precise information could not be obtained as to whether they were within the limits of the pool, "the mayor and burgesses claiming all the land adjoining to the said pool, and being above low water, as being part of the manor of Sutton, of which they are lords."

Page 221.—The South Devon Company has this year (1873) arranged to purchase the Great Western Docks.

Page 235.—In 1663 Garrard wrote to Lord Strafford that Plymouth had yielded £100, and as much yearly rent, to the licensed persons who had a lease for life to sell tobacco there.

*Ibid.*, note.—Sir F. L. Rogers has been created Lord Blachford.

Page 236.—A paper, signed "William Borrowes," Cott. MSS. Otho ix. p. 268, and headed, "Taxes to be levied to finish the castle newly builded at Plymouth," gives incidentally valuable information concerning the trade of the port at the end of the 16th century. He proposes 3d. on each ton of shipping passing from the town for every voyage ("the same as is now taken at London and Dover"). This, he calculates, would not exceed £40 or £50 a year, which would make the taxable tonnage 3,200 or 4,000 tons only. He holds a tax upon victuals to be objectionable; likewise such an import as would cause ships to pay on their return out of what they had taken. "This would produce lesse and

lease ; the trade of the towne would decaye," and the people would "grow into povertie." As the walling of the town had been first desired by the inhabitants, it was only fair, however, to cast some burden upon them ; so he proceeds, "If there may be a convenient reasonable price put upon such coales as strangers do fetch from Newcastle, which be accompted the worst (!) sorte of those coales, and then to impose 12d. on every chalder they take in there over and above the pryse." This would produce, he reckons, £500 a year at least, which would indicate a yearly import of 10,000 chalders.

Page 245.—For Boyce (line 21) read Boyne.

Page 247.—Since the publication of the History much attention has been paid to the subject of Devonshire Tokens by Mr. H. S. Gill, of Tiverton. Chiefly as the result of his enquiries, the following have now to be added to the list of those issued in Plymouth :

LEGEND.	FIELD.
<i>Obv.</i> Ralph Gordge.	Shield with apparently three fishes nauriant.
<i>Rev.</i> In Plymouth.	R.M.G.
<i>Obv.</i> Elizabeth Byland.	The Coopers' Arms.
<i>Rev.</i> Of Plymouth, 1667.	E.B.
<i>Obv.</i> James Iriesh at ye.	Three Fish Hooks.
<i>Rev.</i> Of Plymouth, 1667.	J.E.T.
<i>Obv.</i> Adam Tvrtly.	The Grocers' Arms.
<i>Rev.</i> In Plymouth.	A.T.
<i>Obv.</i> Iohn Williams.	An open Book.
<i>Rev.</i> In Plymouth, Stationer.	J.W.
<i>Obv.</i> Thomas Powell.	A Woolcomb.
<i>Rev.</i> Plymouth (date illegible).	T.J.P.

On the occasion of the visit of George III. in 1789 (vide p. 91) a medal was struck in copper, and also plated :

<i>Obv.</i> Georgius III. Rex.	Laureate head to right, small D under bust.
<i>Rev.</i> Visited Plymouth, August, 1789.	Town Arms in oval shield under draped canopy.



An old check, issued in connection with the once famous Longroom, bears on one side "Plymouth Longroom," and on the other "sixpence."

#### CHAP. XIII.—THE TOWN.

Page 257.—The actual population at the census of 1871 was 68,758.

Page 261.—In Roger North's life of the Lord Keeper Guildford (p. 120, 4to edition), we find:—"His Lordship went down to Plymouth to see the town, which, as other marine towns, is crowded together, and the streets are narrow. But the fort which was built by King Charles II. with the marble of the place, and lime of the same sort of stone burnt, is a worthy spectacle, especially for its glorious prospect overlooking the harbour, which consists of two waters, one called Hamoaze, the other Catwater. . . . All this lies below the Castle, and in view of the Fort, being seen as in a map or rather a flying prospect; and ships under sail look like cockbeats. . . . His lordship and his company were nobly entertained at Mount Edgcumbe."

Page 271.—Mr. Rowe, "Ecclesiastical History," believes that the Turk's Head was formerly connected with St. Andrew, as the vicarage grounds were there.

Page 273.—Mr. Rowe, on the faith of an entry in the "Black Book," referring to the Catholic insurrection in 1549, "Then was our steeple burnt with the town's evidence in the same," thought it likely the tower of the White Friars was that in question. This, however, was not so. One Robert Adams, reporting to the Privy Council concerning the fortification of Plymouth in 1592 (Public Record Office), says that at the east end of the town there was a steeple with a Friary, and that there was a promise to pull the steeple down, so that it should afford no advantage

to an enemy. Adams proposed a mount in substitution. This, of course, completely disposes of the idea that the entry in the "Black Book" refers to the White Friars.

Page 275.—The restoration of St. Andrew Church, from the designs of Sir Gilbert Scott, will be commenced early next year. The west gallery will be removed, and the church will then seat about the same as at present—namely, between 1,500 and 1,600, not 2,000, as over-estimated.

According to the Heralds Visitation, 1620, the Sparkes were descended from one John Sparke, who came from Nantwich, and whose grandson was eight at the date of the Visitation.

Page 280.—The spire of Charles is said to have been knocked awry by the broomsticks of a lot of witches who struck it in their flight!

Page 291.—The Guildhall proper, though all but finished, has yet to be opened, and the future tense still continues appropriate. The Municipal Block and Council Chamber were, however, opened on the 16th April this year (1873), on which occasion the Mayor (Mr. Kelly) entertained the Council and a number of the leading inhabitants at luncheon. Present at that luncheon was Mr. W. Eyens, mayor both under the old and the reformed Corporations, who had been present at the laying of the foundation stone of the old Guildhall in 1800, and who remembered and described its predecessor. It was, he said, a picturesque and really pretty building. It rested upon granite arches and columns. The hall was built upon these, and underneath the market was held. There was a sort of opening, which was then called Market Street, into Bull Hill; and on each side of that there was a pork butcher's stall. Whimble-street was so narrow that scarcely one carriage could pass. There were houses on each side of the

entrance to the churchyard, one occupied by a grocer, and the other by a tinman. Where the present churchyard wall was the fish market, and at the end of it the weighing-house. In the middle of Old Town Street were the shambles. Treville Street, then Butchers' Lane, was so narrow at the upper part that two carts could not pass. In fact, when he looked back upon what Plymouth was in his childhood, and regarded it now, so great was the change that it was hardly believable. Why George Street was little better than a *cul de sac*, and they had to go over the fields to Millbay. Union-street was a marsh, where he had seen snipes shot, and skating. The approach to Devonport was along Stonehouse Lane. Where Russell-street now is stood a magnificent grove of four rows of elms, and there was another on the site of the Duke of Cornwall Hotel. Of the old gates he recollected three, including Hoe Gate, which ought never in his opinion to have been taken down. He recollected, too, when the mail bags were despatched from Plymouth on horseback. He saw the first mail coach come into the town (and great was the rejoicing), and he had seen the last go out. Five or six days were required before any answer could be got from London.

The great hall, though unfinished, was used for a dinner in connection with the Bath and West of England Agricultural Society, which visited Plymouth for the second time in June last. The Earl of Mount Edgcumbe presided.

Mr. W. F. Moore and other members of his family have placed a handsome and costly stained glass window in the hall, representing the famous Armada game of bowls on the Hoe.

#### CHAP. XIV.—FORTIFICATIONS.

Page 298.—The proper defence of Plymouth was evidently a matter of moment in the days of Elizabeth.

Lansdowne MS. 65 contains a petition from Sir Francis Drake and the Mayor of Plymouth concerning the fort on the Hoe. They state therein that the "towne is open to the enemy, and not defended by any fort or rampier." If the Queen would give £1,200 or £1,000 the townsfolk would give £100 at the least, would undertake to make a fort on the Hoe of sufficient strength to stand against an enemy of 50,000 strong for 10 or 12 days; and would ease the Queen of all charge thereafter. There were on the Hoe 13 pieces of ordnance, and on St. Nicholas Island 23; but most of those were borrowed and more were asked for: Drake undertakes to see that watch and ward is kept.

Robert Adams, already mentioned, seems to have been the designer of the town walls. In his report to the Council on the fortifying of the town in 1592, which was accompanied by a plan,\* he recommends a wall round the town from the wall and tower already built (on the Hoe) to a quay or wharf belonging to Mr. Sparke. He leaves out the eastern side of the town, because Sutton Pool forms a sufficient defence there, but advises a boom at the entrance of the Pool. The Friary tower (as already stated) would be outside the wall, and he recommends it to be pulled down and a mount erected. To environ the town with a royal strength would cost millions; nevertheless it should be fortified against a sudden surprise. The circuit of the walling was 380 perches—under a mile and a quarter. He likewise proposes the improvement of the Fort, which would be 75 perches in circuit. The works to be such that the townsfolk might easily retire to the relief of the Fort from the bulwark on the Quay.

William Borrowes, or Borough, in the same year reckons the cost of fortification at £5,000, and it is proposed to

\* Diligent search has been made by the writer for this plan in the Public Record Office, but without success.



levy a tax of 2s. 6d. a hogshead on pilchards exported by strangers or in strange bottoms; 1s. a hogshead on pilchards exported by English or in English bottoms; 6d. a cwt. on hake. Subsequently the Queen orders a tax of 2s. and 1s. respectively, and grants £100 a year out of the increase of the customs beyond the average for the past 7 years. Even this, however, was more than the trade of the town could bear, and the same year these taxes are reduced to 1s. 6d. and 1s., and in addition to the £100 the Queen gives also half of the forfeitures of prohibited wares.

In February, 1593, John Sparke, the Mayor, petitions that the wall might be built. The townsfolk had heard that the Spaniards intended to burn the town next summer, and many were leaving.

In May following Adams reports that the works are going on as well as the time and small means afford.

The works, however, were not finished by August, 1594; for in that month the Queen asks the Earl of Bath who the contributors to the work in the county are, and why they have not given enough.

Page 299.—Gorges was deprived of his post in July, 1603, and Sir Nicholas Parker appointed. Gorges, however, was reappointed in September at 56s. a day.

Page 300.—Friary and Frankfort Gates were removed in 1763 and 1783, respectively.

#### CHAP. XV.—THE WATER WORKS.

Page 310.—According to Allen's "Diary" the money for the Old Town Conduit was raised by those who rented the water paying 10 years' rent in advance. An easy way this of financing.

Page 313.—The matter was terminated in favour of the Corporation. After a long and costly enquiry into the facts by the arbitrator, Mr. (now Baron) Pollock, the legal

issue was argued before the Court of Common Pleas. Lord Chief Justice Bovill held that the only limitation in the Act of Elizabeth was as to the width of the trench or leat, and that the Corporation were entitled to take all the water that could flow through or by means thereof, and use it for any purpose whatever; and that there was nothing in the Act of 1867 which interfered with any right that Sir Massey Lopes possessed. The other judges concurred.

CHAP. XVI.—LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART.

Page 315, note.—This *Bibliotheca* has been published, and will be found in the *Transactions of the Plymouth Institution*. It contains a list of 2,000 books and pamphlets.

Page 320.—An old Plymouthian used to say that at the commencement of the century he was invited out to sup with Gandy, Mudge's successor; and Hawker, vicar of Charles. He went about nine o'clock, and found Gandy roasting a goose and Hawker playing a fiddle. So much for the simple habits of these days.

Page 322.—Carrington was born at Devonport.

Page 324.—Line 13, for Bacon read Baron.

Page 327.—Since the first edition was published, two other newspapers, the *Globe* and the *Plymouth Weekly Times*, have been issued. The *Globe* is dead.

Page 330.—The British Association met at Plymouth and Devonport in 1841; the Social Science Congress, under the presidency of Lord Napier and Ettrick in 1872.

Page 331.—Last line but one, for Pleum read Oleum.

Page 333.—Sir W. S. Harris's father was a draper; and he became assistant-surgeon of the Lancashire militia.

Page 304.—An eccentric Plymouthian lies buried in a field near Botus Fleming, under a monument bearing the following inscription:—"Here lieth the body of William Martyn, of the borough of Plymouth, in the county of Devon,

Doctor of Physic, who died the 22nd day of November, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1762, aged sixty-two years. He was an honest good-natured man, willing to do all the good in his power to all mankind, and not willing to hurt any person. He lived and died a Catholic Christian in the true, not the depraved Popish sense of the word; had no superstitious veneration for church or churchyard ground, and willing by his example, if that might have any influence, to lessen the unreasonable esteem which some poor men and women, through prejudice of education often shew for it, frequently parting with the earnings of many hard days' labour, which might be better bestowed in sustenance for themselves and families, to pay for holy beds for their kinsfolk's corpses, through the ridiculous fear that their kinsfolks at the day of judgment should somehow or other suffer, because their corpses were wrongly situated, or not where the worldly advantage of their spiritual guides loudly called for them."

Mrs. Stewart, of Princess Square, has one of the old cuck-ing or ducking-stools formerly used for the punishment of scolds.

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